HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Will Business Commit Suicide?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith has predicted that the line between big business and government someday will disappear because big corporations are becoming so dependent on government contracts.

It could very well happen, if very many business leaders react to the situation in the same way that one private foundation executive reacted to a conclusion that organizations in his field are becoming too dependent on government money. He made a pitch for still more government aid.

Alan Pifer is acting president of the Carnegie Corp., a philanthropic foundation. The permanent president is John W. Gardner, who is on leave to serve the government as secretary of health, education and welfare. For the foundation's annual report Pifer wrote an essay, "The Nongovernmental Organization at Bay."

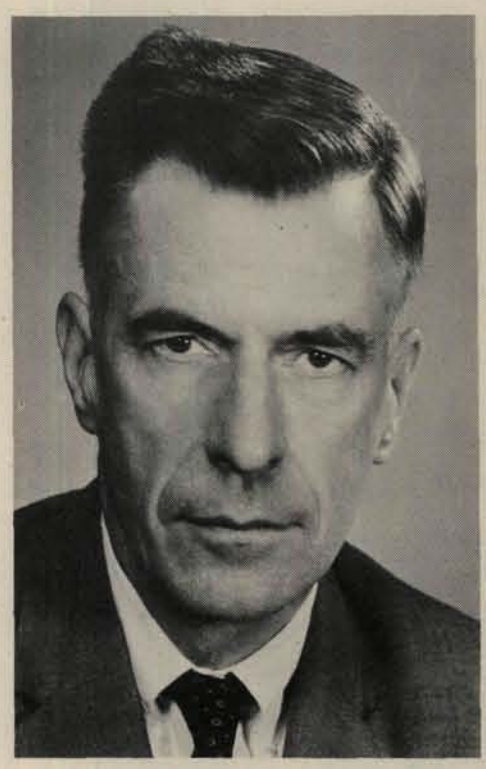
The essay was about the situation of private scholarly, professional and cultural associations, health, welfare and community action agencies, non-university research institutes, technical and advisory organizations and independent educational agencies.

He said there was a rapidly growing use of such private organization by the federal government to carry out assignments for a fee or a grant. He suggests that some of these organizations are beginning to derive so large a part of their income from these federal projects that in time they may become "little more than appendages of government." They will lose their independence.

He proposes a remedy. It is that the federal government hand out additional grants to those organizations, not related to specific projects but intended merely to sustain the organizations—to keep their staffs and rents paid between government projects.

How in the world would such a measure strengthen the independence of the organizations? Obviously it wouldn't. The agencies taking such handouts would cease to be nongovernmental in anything but name—they would be completely dependent on government money. If such a practice were established, the days of genuine private organizations in the affected fields would be numbered.

Galbraith suggested a similar situation arising for big Western business corporations. He said they are becoming so dependent on government orders and planning that they are losing the independence of private enterprise.



Liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith says dependence on government contracts will mean the gradual disappearance of private big businesses.

He did not propose any remedy. He simply predicted that the big corporations ultimately will merge into "the larger administrative complex" of government and lose their identities. "Men will look back in amusement," he said, "at the pretense that once caused people to refer to General Electric or DuPont or Vickers as private business."

Well, if the reaction of big business is to appeal to government to help them keep afloat, then Galbraith's prediction will be fulfilled.

The same kind of situation has developed for larger universities. Particularly in research, government grants and projects have become so numerous and so big that they have begun to dominate the programs of many universities.

Fortunately there has been a different reaction on the campus. Leaders of universities in such a situation, alarmed by the outlook, have turned to private sources. They are seeking counterbalancing private funds for their programs, with the aim of holding government-financed projects to a minority role in their activities. This way lies genuine independence of government.

We commend it to all organizations—business, philanthropic or whatever–which find themselves in danger of becoming dominated by government funds.

Viet Nam War Coverage:

Salisbury's Slant No Surprise
Page 3

Why Does State O.K. Hanoi Trips?
Page 6

How LBJ Can Answer Students
Page 8

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U Thant Suppresses Anti-Castro Report
Page 7

Some Predictions for 1967
Page 12

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944

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James L. Wick (1897-1964)

Milton I. Wick, Publisher Emeritus

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CONTENTS

Brazil Should Provide Foreign Policy Bright Spot—By Henry J. Taylor 5
Hanoi Visits Undercut U.S. War Effort—By Ted Lewis 6
Socialism to Blame for Much of World's Poverty—By Gen. Thomas A. Lane 6
U Thant Refuses to Publish Report on Cuban-Led Subversion—From the Allen-Scott Report 7
Japanese Memorial on Guam?—From the Nashville Banner 7
Will the President Send This Letter?—From the Chicago Tribune 8
History and Law Refute Mr. Goldberg—By James Jackson Kilpatrick 8
How to Disrupt Colleges—By Jenkin Lloyd Jones 9
Reagan Begins Administration With McClellan Appointment—By John Chamberlain 9
Roster of the 90th Congress 10
How to Write Your Congressmen 11
New Year's Predictions from Two Columnists—
By Edgar Ansel Mowrer 12
By Victor Riesel 12
Kennedy-Manchester Book Battle Helped No One Except Johnson—By Raymond Moley 13
Inside Story of New Reuther Strategy—By Victor Riesel 14
A Department of Consumers?—By Henry Hazlitt 14
How Big-City Political Machines Get That Way—By William H. Rentschler 15
Barry's Seven Lean Years Near End—By Paul Harvey 15
Johnson Tries "Building Bridges" to the East—From the Allen-Scott Report 16

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), GOP leaders in the Senate and House, are planning to draw up their own "**State of the Union**" message after LBJ gives his in mid-January.

● Insiders say that **Bobby Kennedy** is considering making a public gesture of reconciliation toward the Johnsons in an effort to ease the "misunderstandings" flowing from William Manchester's account of JFK's assassination and its aftermath.

● Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (R.-Calif.), who faces re-election two years hence, remains in deep trouble with his party for refusing to support Ronald Reagan for governor in the recent election. One untold story about his failure to back the current California governor: Industrialist John McCone, a former CIA director, personally went to Kuchel in the midst of the campaign in order to get him to back Reagan. Kuchel initially appeared persuaded by McCone, but when McCone tried to get in touch with him later about the matter, Kuchel refused to see him.

● Ex-Gov. **Edmund G. (Pat) Brown**, who packed the California judiciary system with some 70-odd cronies just prior to leaving office, appointed his old friend Robert Kenny to the Superior Court bench in Los Angeles County. Kenny, a long-time Soviet apologist, is a member of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist front.

● Former Gov. **G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams**, who was recently defeated for the Senate by Republican Robert Griffin, says he is considering becoming an Episcopal priest. Williams, a member of St. Paul's Cathedral in Detroit, has been an Episcopalian since childhood.

● The once stoutly conservative **Los Angeles Times** continues to move toward a mushy liberalism. The paper's publisher, Otis Chandler, it is now revealed, definitely did not want the Times to endorse Reagan for governor in the recent campaign, but was actually overruled by his influential mother. Another indication of the paper's liberal trend: The Times has dropped from its comic pages that conservative-minded, red-haired heroine Orphan Annie.

● LBJ protege **Bobby Baker**, on trial in federal court this week, says he will definitely write a book about Washington politics after his case is decided. Some knowledgeable politicos say, however, that Baker may forego a literary career if he is found innocent or he gets off lightly.

● FBI Director **J. Edgar Hoover** disclosed last week that Communist party leaders are working assiduously to promote creation of a "Peoples' party" composed of peace, civil rights and labor groups under Red leadership. In a report to Acting Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Hoover said: "This new political party is projected as a vehicle to run an independent candidate for President of the United States in 1968 and to support candidates for other offices who are in favor of ending the war in Viet Nam on terms favorable to the international Communist movement."

● The **Clergymen's Emergency Committee on China**, which vigorously opposes a seat for Red China in the United Nations, has decided to become a permanent body. Formed last year by the Rev. Daniel A. Poling, the committee polled 150,000 American Protestant clergymen on their attitudes toward the Red regime after the National Council of Churches came out for Communist China's admission to the United Nations. The committee reported on October 31 that of 30,000 clergymen responding to the questions, 71.4 per cent opposed giving Mao a U.N. seat.

● Want to see a slum in the historical **Smithsonian Institution**? Charles Blitzer, the Smithsonian's director of education and training, says he and museum curators expect to tour the poorer areas of Washington soon in the hopes of finding a filthy slum apartment that can actually be taken apart and put together again for viewing in the Smithsonian. He fears, he says, that the nation and middle-class museum visitors are in danger of losing touch with the seamy side of life.

● Expect a series of **"student strikes"** for mid-April to dramatize campus opposition to U.S. intervention in Viet Nam. "New Left" leaders met recently in Chicago and drew up plans for a week-long "spring mobilization," including class boycotts, picketing, teach-ins and other demonstrations.

● The government's effort to impose new safety standards on the **nation's automakers** has developed into an international furor. The British and Swedish governments joined more than a dozen leading European automobile manufacturers in asking the U.S. Commerce Department to postpone enactment of the proposed new standard. From prestigious Mercedes-Benz to mass-produced Volkswagen, European automakers agreed they would not be able to comply with the new regulations if they are put into effect Jan. 1, 1968, as planned.

● Castro-idolator **Barbara Garson** will soon have the satisfaction of seeing "MacBird," her vicious satire against LBJ, open in an off-Broadway theater in New York in February. Done in the style of Shakespeare's "MacBeth," "MacBird" portrays LBJ as a mass murderer. (See **Human Events**, Dec. 10, 1966, page 6.)

● The American government has continued to claim that **Yugoslavia** is doing virtually no trading with Hanoi, with the hope that this argument will persuade Congress to pass legislation making trade with this Communist country easier. But evidence is coming to light that the Yugoslavs may actually be surreptitiously carrying on trade with the North Vietnamese government via a Yugoslavian-made ship flying under a Polish flag. The Yugoslavian vice-premier, it is also noted, has at times referred to his country's "economic relations" with Hanoi.

● Though the United States refused to cite any official violations of the recent **48-hour truce** in Viet Nam, American and Vietnamese officials in Saigon reported more than 150 provoked "incidents" in the truce period, with at least 36 allied troops killed or wounded.

● Gov. George Romney's aides, who have already made a straw count of **convention delegates** for 1968, figure they can bank on 500 first-ballot votes, but Nixon, they say, can probably bag 550 of the 667 required for the nomination. To beat out the former vice president, Romney is apparently relying heavily on the advice of liberal New York Republican Sen. Jacob Javits and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Rocky has reportedly turned over his political files to the Michigan governor.

● American folk singer **Peter Seeger** has been presented with the Communist East German Peace Medal in East Berlin's Hootenany Club.

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Same Old Salisbury

"The New York *Times* is at it again," was the prevailing sentiment among foreign policy experts in the Nation's Capital last week. They watched in disgust and bewilderment as Harrison Salisbury, the paper's assistant managing editor, continued to dispatch from Hanoi column after column consistently hewing to the line on the Viet Nam war laid down by the Red propaganda mills.

The first accredited American newsman to visit Hanoi in 12 years, Salisbury—as pointed out in these pages last week—has not disappointed his Communist hosts since he arrived just two days before Christmas.

"President Johnson's announced policy that American targets in North Viet Nam are steel and concrete rather than human lives," he intoned in a now famous dispatch, "seems to have little connection with the reality of attacks carried out by U.S. planes." American bombers, charged Salisbury, "are dropping an enormous weight of explosives on purely civilian targets"—and in Hanoi's view, this is being done "deliberately."

In further dispatches, Salisbury interviewed leading Communists, but he pointedly refused to ask any prickly questions, thus permitting his hosts to use him and the *Times* as a magnificent forum for undiluted Communist rhetoric.

Based on a Salisbury report, for example, the *Times* used this headline on the front page of its January 5 issue: "Aide Says Liberation Front Is Independent of the North." Salisbury did not ask this agent of the National Liberation Front why, if the NLF is independent of the North, that its formation was first announced from Hanoi in 1960 under the auspices of Ho Chi Minh. Nor did he ask any other pertinent questions of the North Vietnamese.

Thus it is hardly a surprise that Communist publicity organs around the world—including the *Worker* and the pro-Communist *National Guardian*—have deluged their customers with juicy tidbits from Salisbury's "on-the-spot" reports.

One item the Reds particularly liked: The town of Nam Dinh in North Viet Nam, which Salisbury suggested was of no military value although bombed by United States planes, in fact contained at least

Harrison Salisbury takes pictures of what North Viet Nam claims is bomb damage to civilian areas of Hanoi.

five military targets, including a railroad yard, a transshipment depot, a power plant and an anti-aircraft site. Just outside the town, according to photos as yet undisclosed to the general public but made available to some reporters, there are numerous other anti-aircraft sites plus an oil-storage area.

Equally as damaging to the authenticity of Salisbury's Communist-serving dispatches has been a report published in the liberal Washington *Post*. In a front-page story last week, the *Post*—which has taken a much firmer line on the war than the *Times*—charged that "Civilian casualty figures on the bombing of Nam Dinh in North Viet Nam—reported without attribution last week by Harrison E. Salisbury of the New York *Times*—are identical to those in a Communist propaganda pamphlet issued in November."

The pamphlet, authenticated by intelligence sources, is entitled "Report on U.S. War Crimes in Nam-dinh City" and was prepared by the "Committee for the investigation of U.S. imperialists' war crimes in Viet Nam of Nam Ha province, October, 1966." Copies of it in English were distributed in November to foreign correspondents in Moscow.

(In his *fifth* dispatch Salisbury casually admitted the truth of the *Post* charge when he wrote, "It should be noted, incidentally, that all casualty estimates and statistics are those of North Vietnamese officials.")

Salisbury's story on Nam Dinh, datelined Hanoi, December 25, stressed that on April 14, about 6:30 a.m., there was an American air attack. "Forty-nine people were killed," wrote Salisbury, "135 were wounded . . . and 240 houses collapsed. Eight bombs—MK-84s—accomplished this. . . ."

The pamphlet says that American planes on April 14, 1966, at 6:30 a.m. dropped on Nam Dinh "8

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

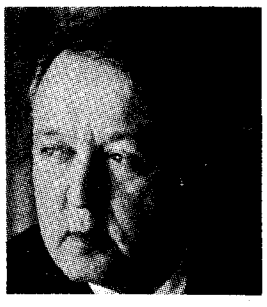
MK-84 bombs, killing 49 people . . . wounding 135 people, and destroying 240 houses. . . ."

In spite of the rebuttals to Salisbury in much of the American press, his dispatches were a clear propaganda victory for the Communists both at home and abroad and lent credence to the Red line that the United States is willy-nilly wiping out innocent civilians in Viet Nam.

Yet official Washington should hardly have been too surprised at Salisbury's slanting of the news to the left. He has done this many times before.

Last June, for example, Salisbury accepted at face value assurances from Cambodian officials that there was "probably" no such thing as a "Sihanouk trail" along which Hanoi was trucking supplies into South Viet Nam. Eight days later, however, the *Times*' chief Far East correspondent, Seymour Topping, now the paper's foreign editor, reported that Hanoi was indeed using a Sihanouk trail and that "the movement of trucks on the route has been confirmed by American and other foreign observers."

Soviet expert Eugene Lyons, a *Reader's Digest* editor who was the United Press correspondent in Moscow from 1928 to 1934, has dissected some of Salisbury's earlier reportings when he was the N.Y. *Times'* Moscow correspondent (1949 to 1954).



LYONS

In a withering critique of Salisbury's dispatches, Lyons wrote in the *New Leader* on March 30, 1953:

"Dr. Gallup and all other slowpoke pollsters of public opinion had better look to their professional laurels. . . .

"The pollsters' rival is Harrison E. Salisbury. . . .

"The reaction of the 200 million Soviet subjects to the death of their beloved Stalin and the accession of the new beloved was a supreme challenge," Lyons noted sarcastically. "And Mr. Salisbury came through. Single-handedly, in approximately eight hours, and in defiance of normal Soviet barriers to poll taking, he canvassed sentiment in the world's largest nation and cabled the results to his paper. One all-embracing sentence to set the doubts of the world at rest on the issue:

' "Mr. Malenkov and his comrades-at-arms appeared to have the support and enthusiasm of Soviet citizens of all walks of life.'

"This history-making finding was duly published on the front page of the New York *Times* issue of March 10, 1953, as part of Mr. Salisbury's 'reporting' of the [Stalin] funeral rites. The envious Dr. Gallup and colleagues will marvel at the completeness and sweep of the Salisbury Poll: He was able to attest not merely garden-variety 'support' but 'enthusiasm,' not in a few places but 'in all walks of life.'

"The minor concession to possible error implied by the word 'appeared' can be easily forgiven, considering that the area covered stretches from Kaliningrad to Kamchatka, from the White to the Black Seas; and considering further that the walks of life normally accessible to foreign correspondents are limited to three tourist hotels, the foreign embassies and the censorship office.

"Mr. Salisbury's feat is the more remarkable when we bear in mind that no Soviet citizen in any walk of life normally dares talk to a foreigner without official permission; and that, if tricked into talking, he would be insane to register anything below peak enthusiasm."

In the January 1955 edition of the old *American Mercury* Lyons again took Salisbury to task. "In October 1950," noted Lyons, "Salisbury, having returned to Moscow from an American holiday, looked around and produced a series of dispatches about the mood of the regime. . . .They were characterized by *Time* as a 'piece of Communist propaganda in the capitalist press' of great value to the *Daily Worker*, which, indeed, reprinted portions with glowing praise."

Lyons says in the same article that only a few months before his return to the United States in 1954, "Salisbury traveled 12,000 miles through the nightmare world of slave labor, writing a series of on-the-spot dispatches. They conceded backwardness and difficulties, but gave an over-all impression of a busy, dynamic, thriving region. The *Daily Worker* applauded." Indeed, Salisbury glowingly described the forced-labor conditions around Yakutsk.

When Salisbury was relieved of his Moscow assignment in 1954, *Time* magazine recalled in its October 4 issue that his reports "often read more like Red propaganda than accounts of what was really going on inside Russia. Salisbury himself was even accused of being pro-Soviet or a fellow traveler."

Surprisingly, Salisbury, when he returned to New York from Moscow in 1954, wrote a series of articles which were more anti-Communist in tone and actually reversed some of his previous writings. He never explained his apparent about-face on some of the issues, saying only that censorship had been the trouble.

But Lyons remarked about that curious excuse: "The answer is inadequate. The all-important fact about censors, and the saving grace, is that while they can prevent a reporter from sending the truth, they cannot force him to send untruths. After all, correspondents are equally censored—but not all of them give the impression they are 'pro-Soviet or a fellow traveler.' "

Whatever the reason for Salisbury's recent dispatches from Hanoi, they are consistent with the *Times*' far from glorious record of news coverage in foreign affairs:

Walter Duranty, the *Times'* Moscow correspondent during the '30s, gave glowing accounts of progress under Stalin's Russia; Owen Lattimore and John K. Fairbank wrote pro-Chinese Communist pieces for the *Times* during the 1940s; Herbert Matthews portrayed Castro as a modern day Robin Hood and thereby hastened his rise to power; and young David Halberstam helped light the fuse which toppled the anti-Communist Ngo Dinh Diem regime in Viet Nam in 1963.

Salisbury, in short, is upholding this distinguished part of the *Times'* journalistic tradition.

Same Old Matthews

While the *Times*' Harrison Salisbury was serving up pro-Communist fare from Hanoi, the *Times'* Herbert Matthews was dishing out pro-Castro propaganda from New York. Matthews, whose highly favorable articles on Castro during the late 1950s

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helped pave his way to power, was again finding good points in the Cuban revolution.

In Matthews' judgment, Castro, in spite of causing a curtailment of liberties, has brought about "a remarkable expansion of education at all levels." Matthews notes that Marxist indoctrination accompanies this "education," but says "it is unlikely to stick." Castro, moreover, has supposedly brought about "improvements in child care, public health, housing, roads" and has given Negroes "equal status with whites, economically and socially."

Matthews' account of the glorious parts of the revolution do not, of course, square with accounts given by Cuban exiles or those who lived in both pre- and post-Castro Cuba.

Futhermore, Matthews again dispenses a myth of his own creation, that Castro was not a Communist until after he obtained power in 1960. In spite of much evidence to the contrary, Matthews also says that "no government" in Latin America is "under an immediate threat of communism or of a radical leftist revolution, Cuban style." That must come as a surprise to many of them.

Rhodesian Outrage

As Congress opens up shop this week, it is clear that the Rhodesian issue will become a major topic of debate. Already several lawmakers in both the House and Senate plan to introduce resolutions demanding that the President withdraw from the United Nations embargo against Rhodesia. (Only last week Johnson signed an executive order imposing economic sanctions against that independent country.)

Typical of the resolutions to be introduced is one by Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.). The Utt bill will not only be based on the principles enunciated in the U.N. Charter, but will also be based on Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which gives Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations."

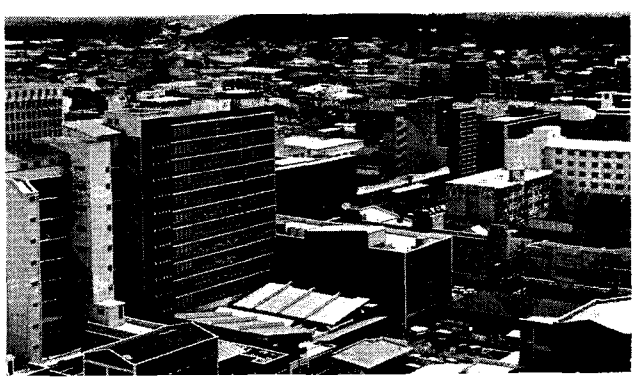
UTT

Utt believes that if Congress refuses to adopt his resolution, or one similar to it, it will be surrendering this power over commerce.

The California lawmaker says that the Rhodesian policy is absurd. "Here are Great Britain and Russia, the major supply lines to North Viet Nam ports, demanding we help suffocate a nation that the British have conceded to be self-governing and responsible since 1923 for 'threatening world peace.'

"How can we join such actions against Rhodesia without at once requesting England, and all 'friendly nations' in the U.N., to extend sanctions against North Viet Nam? The United States is *not* at war with Rhodesia. We *are* fighting North Viet Nam. We are losing 200 American lives a day in those jungles. England is supplying our enemy with war materials while using the Rhodesian embargo to increase its own supply of raw materials."

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, as Utt notes, recently made a lucid case for a U.S. "hands off" policy. Referring to the frequent charge of the white minority's transgressions, Acheson demanded: "Transgressions against what? What international



Salisbury, Rhodesia, is a modern city of some 300,000. The Rhodesian issue is slated for extensive discussion in Congress this year.

obligations have they violated?" Acheson made it clear that Rhodesia has not violated even those obligations the American colonies did to gain independence, and that she remains more honestly "democratic" than the emergent African nations that are so hostile toward her.

Says Utt: "There have been more breaches of the peace in a dozen American cities than in all of Rhodesia since Ian Smith's government declared independence in 1965. Not one gun has been fired. Not one person killed."

• Utt didn't mention it, but there's another reason the United States shouldn't be aiding England. Within the last few weeks, it has become clear that the British concern of Simon-Carves will sell a $28-million fertilizer plant to the Castro government. The British government plans to guarantee the credits, even though the deal has been protested—albeit very mildly—by the State Department. Queen Elizabeth II, on behalf of Labor Prime Minister Harold Wilson, also sent a warm note of congratulations to Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos on the eighth anniversary of the Fidel Castro revolution. The note read, according to Havana Radio: "With great pleasure I send to your excellency my cordial congratulations and my good wishes on account of the Cuban national festivity of Liberation's Day."

Bobby's Bugging

Bobby Kennedy's claim that he knew nothing of FBI "bugging" during his three and a half years as attorney general was flatly contradicted last week by a top-ranking former aide. Edwyn Silberling, former chief of the Justice Department's crime and racketeering section, said in Washington that he distinctly remembered Kennedy urging the FBI to use more "technical equipment" in the fight against organized crime.

"Everybody at the meeting knew [Kennedy] was talking about electronic surveillance—parabolic microphones, spike microphones, bugs—this is microtransmitters—the whole thing," Silberling said.

The meeting took place in 1961 in Kennedy's fifth floor office at the Justice Department, Silberling continued. The conference had been called by Kennedy to coordinate anti-crime strategy, he said.

Silberling is hardly anti-Kennedy. He quit the Justice Department in 1964 to take up a private law practice and to run for Congress from suburban New York. He ran as a Democrat and was defeated. Kennedy, then running for the Senate, campaigned for him.

• Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) charged last week that the Kennedy Administration "either approved or condoned" wiretapping in the 1963 investigation of Otto F. Otepka. Testimony before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee has disclosed that Otepka's phone was tapped by State Department superiors after they became concerned that he was cooperating with the subcommittee.

In a letter last week to FBI Director Hoover, Gross said that the Otepka case indicates "the fact that there was wiretapping and eavesdropping during the Kennedy Administration that had no connection with the FBI but apparently did have the approval of the high political appointees of the Kennedy Administration."

Gross said that "the fact this was either approved or condoned in early 1963 by the Kennedy Administration" would further support Hoover's claim that Bobby was familiar with bugging techniques during his stint as attorney general.

Gov. Reagan Speaks

Liberal politicos who were predicting that Ronald Reagan would desert his conservative principles once he became governor of California were sadly disappointed last week. Delivering his inaugural address to the Golden State legislature, Reagan promised a balanced budget and swift action against crime in the streets and the rising cost of public welfare.

"We are going to squeeze and cut and trim until we reduce the cost of government," Reagan stressed. "The time has come to match outgo to income, instead of always doing it the other way around."

The 55-year-old former actor called on the Democratic-controlled legislature to "restore" the right of local governments to pass and enforce ordinances which will "enable police to more adequately" protect their communities.

"Californians should be able to walk our streets safely, day or night," Reagan said. Regarding welfare, he promised, "We are not going to perpetuate poverty by substituting a permanent dole for a paycheck." The Republican governor emphasized he

Ronald Reagan takes the oath as the Golden State's 33rd governor from Associate Justice Marshall McComb of the California Supreme Court.

would seek to put welfare recipients to work in public institutions and to harness the resources of private industry to find jobs for the unemployed. (See page 9).

Reagan also deplored the strife at the University of California's Berkeley campus, saying it would be no denial of academic freedom to require students to obey "reasonable rules and regulations" or insist that they seek education elsewhere.

The new Republican governor also called for property tax relief, tax credits for parents sending their children to college and a plan to increase local school-board control over curriculum and textbook selection. In short, Reagan ran as a conservative and will try to run the state according to conservative principles.

Loyalty Oath Scuttled

In another flagrant assault on Congress, the Justice Department last week stubbornly refused to defend before the Supreme Court the loyalty oath provisions Congress has required of Medicare applicants.

Thurgood Marshall, solicitor general, arrogantly told the High Court he would not appeal a California federal court decision voiding a requirement that applicants state whether or not they are members of Communist organizations.

Marshall decided to take this formal stand, an almost unique abandonment of an act of Congress, even though a New York federal court—unlike the court in California—refused to declare the disclaimer unconstitutional.

Marshall professed that ordinarily he would ask the Supreme Court to review any decision invalidating an act of Congress, but he claimed the court's ruling last April 18 in *Elfbrandt vs. Russell*, barring a similar oath for Arizona school teachers, foreclosed a federal appeal on the Medicare disclaimer.

Constitutional experts scoff at this reasoning. They say the *Elfbrandt vs. Russell* ruling invalidated state law, not an act of Congress, and therefore has no real bearing on the Medicare loyalty oath. Whether the oath is good or bad, they say, is not the point either.

What is important, however, is that the Justice Department carry out the will of Congress. That's something Thurgood Marshall apparently doesn't want to do.

• *House Republican Leader Gerald Ford reports the GOP will support a multi-billion-dollar anti-missile system to protect the nation's security despite the party's interest in honing the LBJ budget. "This could be a serious military crisis if we delay too much longer," Ford said, adding that "we are behind the Soviet Union in this particular field and once you get too far behind in a project of this magnitude it is almost impossible to catch up."*

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Brazil Should Provide Foreign Policy Bright Spot

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Johnson, who could stand a little good news, will get it in Brazil at the forthcoming hemisphere Presidents' summit meeting. His prompt, courageous and successful Dominican Republic intervention that blocked a Communist take-over is certainly paying off there.

Brazil borders on all but two South American countries. No Latin American resistance to communism that does not include Brazil is worth anything. And the great Red target from the Cuban base, expanded to the Dominican Republic, was Brazil.

Within two and a half years after the Bay of Pigs, Castro's subversion in Brazil and throughout the hemisphere was so damaging that President Kennedy was forced to make a Latin American trip and tell protesting leaders in the hemisphere that there was nothing he could do about it.

Six elected Latin American governments promptly fell, including Dr. Juan Bosch's government in Santo Domingo. President Kennedy was then forced to recognize and support the military junta that threw Bosch out.

The Reds staged their bloody *Putsch* to put this incompetent demagogue back in power. The Cuban Communist con-

Former Brazilian President Joao Goulart left his country's economy under Marxist control.

spirators made the attack against which President Johnson intervened. They were there, on hand, in Santo Domingo. Their puppet, anti-America Bosch, was not.

He sat it out in Puerto Rico. Only President Johnson's immediate intervention saved us from another Castro in the Caribbean and, by now, probably a Red Brazil.

President Kennedy's foreign policy was not a policy; it was a catastrophe—a series of catastrophes. Chroniclers of the Kennedy period portray Robert Kennedy as practically a co-President with his brother, and no living man has contributed as much as he has to the downslide in world affairs that President Johnson inherited.

On Dec. 16, 1965, in his usual attempt to put Mr. Johnson behind the eight ball, he said: "No one I spoke to on my Latin American trip thought we had done the right thing in our Dominican intervention." And Mr. Kennedy had sounded off in Brazil with such statements disparaging Mr. Johnson's decision.

This was an utterly unconscionable act, for the Red Star was over Brazil.

Brazilian President Joao Goulart's Red record was flagrant. In fact, Goulart had returned (August 1961) from Mao Tse-tung's embrace in Peking to take over the presidency.

Marxist Economics Minister Celso Furtado was supervising the Sovietization of Brazilian industry, and seizing American properties in the process. Marxist Atty. Gen. Evando Lins Silva and Minister of Justice Joao Mangabeira were in control of justice and the secret police. Marxist Minister of Labor and chieftain Danta Pellacani controlled the trade unions. Courageous parts of the Brazilian press, like the newspaper *Correio da Manha,* counted 78 Communists in highest key places.

Today the government of President-elect Arthur da Costa e Silva is pro-American. Not only this, it is dynamically, effectively and solidly pro-American. Mr. Costa e Silva, who has started a world tour before taking office March 15, makes no bones about this. He has already spread the gospel in Portugal and West Germany.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Juracy Magalahes has left Rio on a similarly salutary mission to all parts of the hemisphere. And by his performance and interpretations throughout the United States, the able Brazilian ambassador to Washington, Vasco Leitao da Cunha, is forthrightly representing this same solidarity in our country. So is U.S. Ambassador John W. Tuthill down there. He's out and around all over the giant country.

Brazil's foremost jurists drafted a charter for a new constitution and presented it for congressional debate on December 12. The legislators will vote on it January 24. It is largely based on the constitutions of Finland and Liberia, recognized as probably the two finest constitutions in the world.

A free Latin America is vital in the American interest, and Brazil is the key to it. With a continuous, relentless and self-serving assist from the Kennedys themselves, the important recoveries from the Kennedy debacle made by President Johnson are widely ignored. The unfairness this represents is manifest and the amazing thing to me is that President Johnson keeps his temper about it as well as he does.

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☐ ☐ ☐

NO SECULAR SAINT—"What many have never understood is that [Secretary-General of the U.N.] U Thant, in truth, is a quite fallible human being, not in any sense a secular saint, and that just below the surface he burns, as an Asian, with inherited memories of bad Western actions in the imperial era of long ago and cannot forget them. In short, scratch him deeply enough and in his heart he is automatically anti-West. This is not solely the conclusion of a mere commentator; it is shared in private even by some highly placed men who are themselves perfectly good Asians but are aware that the Western sins of the Kipling era have long since ended and have long since been atoned."—By William S. White in the Washington *Post*

☐ ☐ ☐

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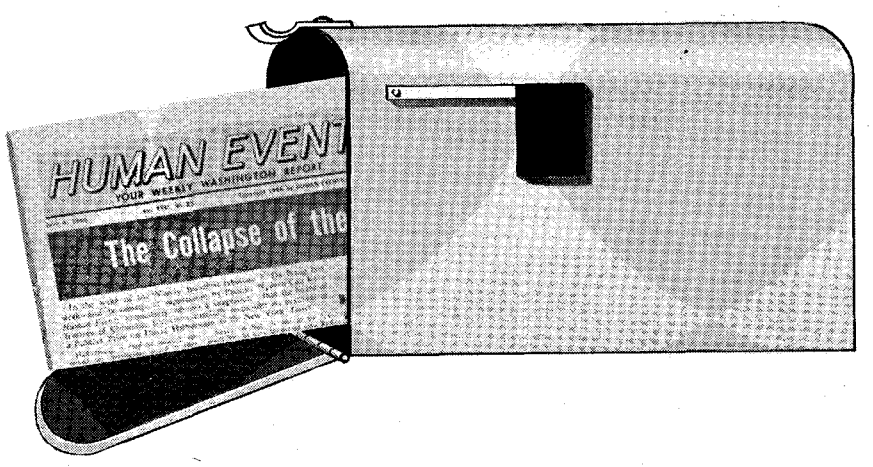

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Hanoi Visits Undercut U.S. War Effort

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

Well, it is a helluva way to fight a war, this business of validating American passports so that U.S. citizens can go to Hanoi, mingle with the enemy and pass out cigarettes to anti-aircraft gun crews trying to shoot down our own planes overhead.

The Rusk-Johnson passport policy has insane dimensions. Here is a war going on, and our State Department issues "freely to pass" credentials so that American citizens can, if Hanoi approves, take an eyewitness look at the enemy's economy, its morale and the almost daily devastation wrought by our bombing planes.

How crazy can this Administration get? Consider the extensiveness of this "freely to pass to the enemy side" passport policy. With very few restrictions, bona fide American newspapermen, doctors, scholars, scientists, officials and businessmen can get a State Department okay right here in Washington for a visit to Communist North Viet Nam.

Then all the individual anxious to associate with the enemy has to do is sit around until Hanoi decides whether to let him in. The obvious doesn't need to be stressed, but these decisions are made on the Communist propaganda computer machine, on the basis of careful valuation of each proposed visiting fireman.

It is only now that this passport policy has come home to roost, and simply because Hanoi—clearly to the State Department's consternation—has decided that the more Americans on Communist soil, the better for Red propaganda. A substantial number of Americans, instead of just a trickle, and many of them newspapermen, including representatives of TV networks, are about to

Four American women in Moscow on their way to Hanoi. From left, Miss Barbara Deming, Mrs. Joe Griffith, Mrs. Diane Bevel and Mrs. Grace Newman. Mrs. Griffith said they were making the trip "despite the possible consequences when we return and the possibility of our getting killed while we are there by American bombers."

be favored. More businessmen, too, will be given a chance to trade with the enemy, according to official reports received here.

The State Department, through its spokesmen, refuses to interpret Hanoi's opening of its doors to more Americans as a purely propaganda move. But, in effect, it admits this government has been boobytrapped in this area by its passport policy.

This admission is made by the department's revelation that the present passport policy is now "up for review." It had better be, because Congress intends, when it meets in January, to find out what has been going on. The question of what an American reporter sees in the Hanoi area in the way of civilian deaths from U.S. bombings, compared with disclaimers from Saigon, is basically a fringe issue.

What such congressmen as Chairman John E. Moss (D.-Calif.) of a House Investigating subcommittee primarily want to know is how this free-and-easy passport policy fits into a tough, limited war situation.

Our last limited war was the Korean "police action." Could any sane American imagine Harry Truman allowing passports to be issued so that scholars, scientists and reporters could get conducted tours among the Red Chinese hordes on the other side of the Yalu River?

But the handling of this limited war in Viet Nam has been cockeyed from the start. We were, on paper, simply there in force to help the South Vietnamese at their request. Now, as every American knows, it is our war, even though the Administration won't admit it.

And because President Johnson too firmly embraced a "guns and butter" philosophy—that we could fight the war and have full bellies and purses back home, too—lip service still must be paid to that outworn theory. Outworn because of plans for $72 billion in defense spending next year.

So, it is no novelty to have the war also cockeyed on the passport-to-communism front. How really cockeyed is almost beyond imagination.

For example, Hanoi's decision to give the red-carpet treatment for favored Americans does not include those U.S. diplomats who have been working, on Johnson's command, to get Ho Chi Minh to the negotiation table.

An American businessman or Public Health Service expert now has a real good chance of getting a Hanoi visa—but Averell Harriman or U.N. Ambassador Goldberg clearly are blacklisted. So Harriman, in order to try to convince Hanoi that the President's "let's talk instead of fight" position is sincere, goes to Algeria to establish a contact.

And as other passport-okayed Americans move into Hanoi, in Warsaw, Poland, U.S. Ambassador Gronouski, cooperating with Harriman in Algeria, tries to find out second-hand what is going on in Communist North Viet Nam.

Our Central Intelligence agents must be as embarrassed as our diplomats by how Hanoi is welcoming other Americans mainly in the pay of private enterprise. It used to be that our spyboys had to be assigned the perilous job of infiltrating an enemy capital to find out how the war looked from the other side.

Now the enemy is inviting undisguised people from the other side to take a look around on at least a guided-tour basis.

We can hardly wait to have Castro's Cuba turn up again with some nasty big Soviet missiles. Under the present passport policy, all sorts of U.S. citizens would have a chance to be guests of Castro and join the enemy in watching American bombers come over Havana. Wouldn't it be nice to be a free American, standing there beside Fidel, when a downed American flier is hauled away to jail or worse?

Socialism to Blame for Much of World's Poverty

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The present rationalization of U.S. foreign aid is based upon the division of wealth. We are told that the United States must share with those who have so little the product of its fruitful society.

We are reproached by the Barbara Wards that with only 6 per cent of the world's population we have 40 per cent of its wealth. We are warned that we must share our plenty with the impoverished Socialist countries or their peoples will rise up to destroy us.

How strange this is! Socialists assert that all wealth is the product of labor. According to their thesis, 6 per cent of the world's people are doing 40 per cent of the world's work. Americans are the hardest working people in the world!

Why don't the Barbara Wards address their concern to the real problem of political organization? Why don't they provide work for the laboring man in their Socialist states?

Socialists reject the essential requirements of a productive society. They profess to know how to divide the wealth, but they certainly do not know how to produce it.

The per capita gross national product of the United States is far above that of the most advanced Socialist states because the United States makes more efficient use of the people's labor. Japan, with capitalist organization, has made a remarkable industrial recovery since World War II. In contrast, India, under Socialist rule for a generation, keeps its people alive only from the surplus production of a capitalist society. India has failed to mobilize and use effectively the labor potential of its people.

The basic reality for all nations is that progress is a function of work. How can the people of a country be organized to provide productive employment for all?

Socialist states answer the problem with central planning. A scientific elite armed with machines will program and direct all production. They will command the labor of the people.

Socialist theorists find that modern technology is recalcitrant. Production is so complex and sensitive that it cannot be dictated by political planners. The Socialist elite of the Soviet Union has been unable either to plan adequately for the national production or to provide effective incentives to Soviet workers.

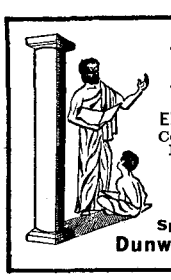
Only a free market, in which individual initiative is rewarded or reproved by customer acceptance, provides a mechanism which excites human energies and rewards excellence. In the productive society every man is a capitalist because every man is free.

It is the tragedy of developing countries that so many of them are gripped by authoritarian Socialist leadership. The addiction of this leadership to a monopoly of political power and to the theory of socialism stagnates production. Leaders will not allow their peoples the freedom required for progress. They jockey instead for handouts from the capitalist granary.

Just as the bureaucracy of monarchies paralyzed human initiatives centuries ago, the bureaucracies of the Socialist states paralyze human initiatives today. Competitive capitalism takes the keys to production from the government and hands them to the people. The people do the rest. Then they can work!

How sad it is that our foreign aid programs support the Socialist systems which render the aid ineffectual! We waste our substance and frustrate the hopes of friendly peoples by failing to condition our aid to political conditions which will make it effective. We have lacked the candor to tell these friendly powers that they cannot create a productive society through state ownership of enterprise. We have not told them that men will work hard for their own self-improvement but only marginally at the command of governments.

We, who should know better, have acted as though the problem of production were one of division when it is in reality one of multiplication.



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OAS Document Details Armed Conspiracies

U Thant Refuses to Publish Report on Cuban-Led Subversion

From the Allen-Scott Report

Fidel Castro apparently is getting an extraordinary helping hand from U.N. Secretary-General U Thant.

The recently re-elected Burmese is refusing to publish and distribute a detailed report charging Cuba, Russia and Red China with organizing and putting into operation conspiracies to overthrow established democratic governments in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Prepared by the Organization of American States for distribution by the United Nations to all its members, the 174-page report states flatly that the Communists have set up "action groups" in Havana to carry out this worldwide revolutionary upheaval.

The OAS report discloses that one of these "action groups" is engaged in recruiting and training "volunteers" for North Viet Nam.

The voluminous OAS study, with organizational charts and the names of Communist leaders involved in the undercover drive, was submitted to U Thant more than a month ago with a written request that it be published and distributed to U.N. members.

The request was signed by 17 OAS members, including Ambassador Sol Linowitz, U.S. representative to that organization.

But instead of complying, U Thant has kept the report in his office—along with objections to its publication from Russia and Cuba.

The Cuban protest was in the form of a cable from Castro. It arrived almost at the same time the OAS report reached U Thant.

The Soviet ambassador to the United Nations personally delivered his country's dissent.

In explanation of U Thant's failure to print and release the OAS study, his aides contend this is due to lack of funds.

However, it is significant that a number of far less important and non-controversial reports have been published by the U.N. since the OAS document reached U Thant's office.

The comprehensive OAS report, one of the most detailed ever compiled on Communist activities in the Western

Because of Russian and Cuban objections, U Thant has not released the OAS report on Red subversion in various countries throughout the world.

Hemisphere, focuses on the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana a year ago, and "its establishment of international organizations to support armed uprisings against independent governments."

More than 500 Communist delegates from 82 countries, including government officials from Cuba, Russia and the United Arab Republic, participated in the conference.

The OAS document charges, "The proclamation adopted by the conference on the use of force as one of the principal means for attaining its objectives and the establishment of permanent machinery to this end, struck at the fundamental principles of international law and constitutes a deliberate violation of the U.N. Charter."

The report stresses that already, "Several of the international organizations have begun operations from their Havana headquarters to carry out waves of sabotage, espionage and armed intervention against non-Communist members of the United Nations."

One of these "action groups" is pinpointed as the "Tricontinental Committee of Support to the People of Viet Nam." Composed of Communist leaders from Cuba, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Venezuela and Congo-Leopoldville, this organization was given the mission:

"To mobilize, organize, coordinate the movement of solidarity support and aid to the Vietnamese people in every aspect, moral, political, material and economic, including the aid with volunteers and arms, within the framework of each country, each continent and Tricontinental."

U.S. intelligence authorities, who assisted in compiling the OAS report, point out that the arrival in North Viet Nam of North Korean pilots followed the setting up of the Havana "action groups."

There is some evidence that members of the "Viet Nam committee" visited North Korea in June and took part in ceremonies on the departure of these "volunteers" who flew their MIGs to Hanoi via Red China.

The OAS study indicates that thousands of other "volunteers," including missile technicians, are being trained in Cuba under the sponsorship of the "action groups" established by the Tricontinental Conference. A large number of these "volunteers" are reportedly scheduled to leave for Viet Nam later this month.

In stressing that "The Tricontinental Conference made Viet Nam the focal point of future international Communist activities," the OAS report states:

"All organizations formed at the conference, including the permanent Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, were instructed to launch their activities against the United States throughout the world in support of the Viet Nam operation.

"For example, Pedro Medina Silva, the Venezuelan delegate and one of the three vice presidents of the conference, directed all organizations to intensify the struggle in his own country, including attacks against U.S. oil installations.

"The newly formed Latin American Continental Organization of Students with permanent headquarters in Havana was given the task of forming a bridge of student volunteers for service in North Viet Nam and terrorists to destroy U.S. military installations in Puerto Rico.

"In addition, there is specific information concerning precise orders sent by the permanent organizations in Havana to the National Committees and Communist parties in the countries of the hemisphere, as in the case of instructions for organizing strikes in factories and for sabotaging and boycotting ports and railroads that produce and transport materials and supplies for U.S. military operations in Viet Nam."

The report, prepared by a special committee headed by Juan Bautista de la Velle, OAS ambassador of Peru, lists Capt. Osmany Cienfuegos, former Cuban minister of construction, as the key official in the "action groups."

Soviet trained, Cienfuegos is a member of Castro's inner circle. He was named secretary-general of the Tricontinental organizations on the motion of Sharaf Rashidov, head of the Russian delegation and a member of the Soviet Presidium. The Red Chinese delegation seconded the nomination.

The OAS report reveals that a second meeting of the Tricontinental Conference is being planned "for later in 1967 or early 1968 in either Peking or Cairo."

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Japanese Memorial on Guam?

From the Nashville *Banner*

A proposal to erect a memorial on U.S.-owned Guam to honor Japanese soldiers who fought to hold the island against American forces in World War II has drawn fire from at least one member of Congress.

Rep. Richard C. White (D.-Tex.) says it's "the height of poor taste."

That's a gross understatement.

This tribute to the Nipponese invaders, promoted by the so-called South Pacific Memorial Association, Inc., would be the only marker on a battlefield where 7,000 U.S. Marines died defending human liberty!

Rebuilding bombed-out Japan and re-establishing her economy with U.S. tax dollars may be justified on the grounds that this erstwhile enemy has sheathed its sword and embraced the principles of democracy.

But sanctioning a marble shaft in honor of its warriors on soil soaked with the blood of Americans who died fighting the would-be despoilers is something else.

To overshadow the tiny markers designating the graves of U.S. veterans with a towering marble spire glorifying the enemy responsible for their death is not only "poor taste," but an outrageous affront to our men who gave their lives to plant the Stars and Stripes on this tiny Pacific outpost in defense of the free world.

□ □ □

"IF WE ACT NOW, with vigor and understanding, with steadiness and without fear, we can peacefully safeguard our freedom. It is only if we turn our backs, in mistaken complacence or mistrusting timidity, that war may again become inevitable."—Henry L. Stimson

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Will the President Send This Letter?

A suggested reply to a group of students' complaints on Viet Nam

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The letter which leading students at 100 colleges and universities have sent to President Johnson expressing their doubts about the war in Viet Nam is a restrained and respectful document. Courtesy alone demands that it receive a thoughtful reply.

There are other reasons, too. It contains some obvious truths, and Mr. Johnson cannot ignore it without seeming to plead guilty to more than he should. Finally, it deserves a reply in order to show that an orderly and respectful approach carries more weight than demonstrations, shouting and sit-ins.

A candid and constructive reply by the President might go something like this:

"Dear Students:

"Your letter deserves a frank answer, and I must admit right away that my Administration has made serious mistakes in trying to conceal from the American people the difficulties which we face in Viet Nam and to pretend that we can attack military targets near northern cities without occasionally doing some damage to adjacent civilian areas. Disclosure of the truth has hurt our cause and led to some of the disappointment and resentment which you reflect. From now on we shall be honest with the people.

"I also share your concern about the damage that a continuing war will do to the land and people of Viet Nam, and the difficulties that this will create when the war is over. I agree that this demands an early end to the war. The problem is how to end it without inviting even greater difficulties in the future.

"This leads to your doubt that American interests are threatened in Viet Nam. It has been the painful decision of the last three administrations, Republican as well as Democratic, that they are threatened.

"When the French were fighting the Viet Minh, we might have been wiser to turn our back on France as de Gaulle is doing to us today, and hope that the independence of Indochina would not lead to communism. But that is water over the dam. That war merged nationalism and communism under Ho Chi Minh, and there is no longer any likelihood of separating them. For us to withdraw now would be a victory not for nationalism, but for communism. It would also violate a promise we have made repeatedly for more than a decade.

"You wonder why, even if our interests are threatened, this particular war will serve them. Your implication is that if we accept failure here, another threat will not arise somewhere else.

"This brings us to the so-called domino effect. When we were helping the French, the Eisenhower team assured us that the loss of Indochina would mean the loss of Southeast Asia. The only immediate loss was the north half of Viet Nam, and those who had questioned government policy then as you are doing today pointed to this as an acceptable settlement.

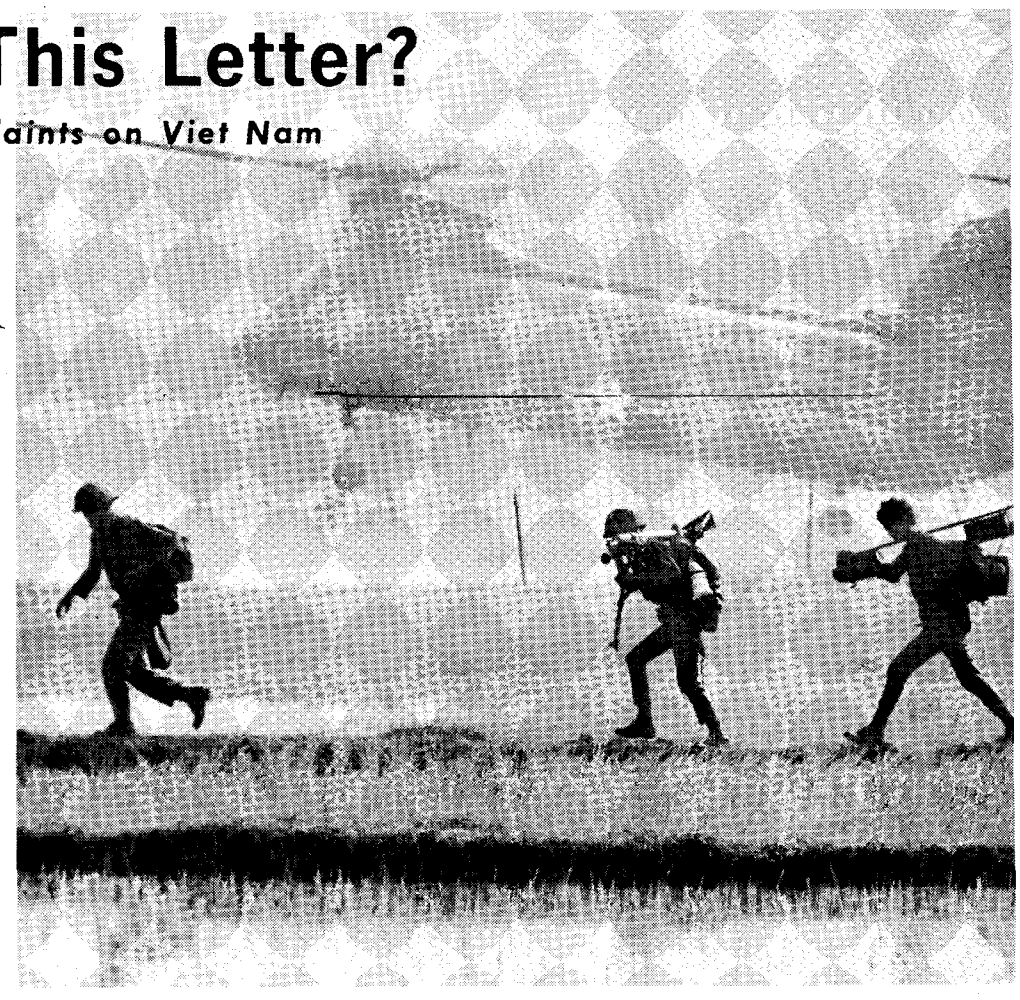
"But North Viet Nam began to move into Laos, and President Kennedy told us that the loss of Laos would mean the loss of Southeast Asia. Laos was consigned to a neutralist government and once again the questioners seemed to think the trouble was over. Today Laos is in the hands of the Communists, for all practical purposes, and serves as a supply route for the Viet Cong.

"The subversion of North Viet Nam and Laos has been followed by the defection of Cambodia, which is now used as a Communist base. South Viet Nam is the only domino still standing in Indochina, and the subversion is already spreading to Thailand and Malaysia. The domino process may be slow, but it is undeniably at work. When Thailand becomes dangerously undermined, would you refuse it the aid which we have promised by treaty? And what if the threat should reach Australia, as the Australians clearly fear that it may?

"Each domino is harder to protect than the last, and this is why we must end this war in such a way that the remaining dominoes can stand in peace and freedom. This will not be possible if the Communists win the same voice in South Viet Nam, even tacitly, that they have won in Laos. To date, they have shown no interest in a settlement which will not give them this influence. We must continue to apply military pressure until they show such an interest.

"Your proposal to fight 'on a reduced scale' would not achieve this. It would only prolong the war. I am just as unhappy as you about the present situation, but I am responsible for the ultimate results of my decisions. You seem to have given no thought to what would happen after your proposals were carried out.

"If some of you choose to go to jail rather than be drafted, that is your affair. But you will have to spend the rest of your lives with men who did make the sacrifice—not because they wanted to, but because it was the decision of their country, confirmed by a majority of the electorate—and with the families of other men who made the greatest sacrifice of all. You will owe them an explanation, just as I owe you one now, and it will not be an easy one to provide."



South Vietnamese troops manuever after being landed by a U.S. helicopter. Despite the hue and cry over civilian casualties in the North, many protesters ignore the Viet Cong-inflicted civilian losses in the South.

Rhodesian Sanctions

History and Law Refute Mr. Goldberg

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg did little to sell his case on Rhodesia in a speech here in Washington recently. His case has been flimsy from the very beginning, and the more he attempts to shore it up, the more glaringly its weaknesses lie exposed.

The ambassador chose the prestigious annual luncheon of the Association of American Law Schools for delivery of an address widely regarded as an answer to Dean Acheson's blast at the U.N.'s actions. It was not Mr. Goldberg's finest hour. Mr. Acheson, formerly secretary of state, probably has forgotten more about international law than Mr. Goldberg, formerly chief counsel to the steelworkers, ever has learned. The three years Mr. Goldberg spent on the Supreme Court added nothing to his education for this particular exchange.

The Security Council's action in imposing mandatory sanctions upon Rhodesia, said the ambassador, "does not flout the principle of self-determination." And this is because—here the mind boggles—this is because the white minority Rhodesian regime is not asserting the right of self-determination.

It would appear to the minds of ordinary men, gifted with ordinary powers of reason, that it is immaterial what the white minority Rhodesian regime asserts. The action of the Security Council either flouts, or it does not flout, regardless of any assertions in Salisbury.

This was Mr. Goldberg's second point: The U.N. Charter's ban against intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state has not been violated because—and again the mind boggles—because Rhodesia is a British territory and not a "state" with its own sovereignty.

Rhodesia has been a functioning, *de facto* state for the past 14 months. To the naked eye, it exhibits every attribute of sovereignty by which one ordinarily recognizes a state—an established government, a condition of domestic peace and order, a code of laws, a system of courts, a parliament sitting. But Mr. Goldberg will have it both ways: Rhodesia is not a state; it is a territory of the United Kingdom. Are we to understand, then, that a nation's territories are not among those matters essentially within its own jurisdiction? It is a novel thought.

Mr. Goldberg gets around the consequences of this line of non-reasoning by observing that the principle of non-intervention, which Mr. Acheson thought had been expressed so unequivocally in Article I of the Charter, contains an exception.

"This principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement procedures under Chapter VII." And it is under Chapter VII, of course, that Britain has asked and obtained sanctions against Rhodesia. The astonishing precedent that would be established by Mr. Goldberg's ingenious construction is that any member nation may demand the entire massed might of the United Nations to prevent one of its territories from attaining independence.

Once he reaches Chapter VII the ambassador is in deeper trouble; for in order validly to invoke Chapter VII it must be shown that Rhodesia has created a threat to the peace. This proposition was quite beyond Mr. Goldberg's powers. His argument boiled down to this, that white Rhodesia's peaceful independence provokes her black neighbors in the same way that a diamond in a jeweler's window provokes the passing thief. It is all the fault of Rhodesia; it is all the fault of the jeweler. Rhodesia's action "involves great risks of violence." Mr. Goldberg has said so. But men may ask if this makes it so.

Finally, the ambassador asserts that the international community, in the late 20th Century, cannot accept the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule, especially when the discrimination rests upon racial grounds. The United States, he remarked by way of proof, laid down that policy with its own Civil War a century ago.

This is the frailest argument of all, for it asks us to assume that all nations, and all societies, stand at the same moment in time upon the same rung of civilization's ladder. The Constitution of the United States, when it was drafted in 1787, specifically condoned human slavery. Our own system of government was controlled by a male minority against a female majority at least until 1920. The principle of "one man, one vote," enunciated in *Baker v. Carr*, appeared only a moment ago.

In one form or another, "discrimination" exists throughout the world. There is not a member nation of the United Nations, including Britain and the United States, which does not accept this reality in some fashion. When Mr. Goldberg demands that late 20th Century standards be imposed upon African tribes still squinting as they stumble out of the Stone Age, he cannot stand on history. And as his speech abjectly demonstrated, neither can he stand on law.

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SDS Program

How to Disrupt Colleges

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Last November 16, Students for a Democratic Society, on the campus of the University of Michigan, sponsored a referendum in which 10,000 students, representing a little less than one-third of the student body, voted 2-1 that the university should cease to supply Selective Service with student grade rankings.

When this straw vote failed to bring the university to heel, the SDS sponsored a "teach-in" at Hill Auditorium with 4,000 attending, and a few days later an hour "sit-in" in which 1,500 students plugged up three floors of the Administration Building.

What is going on? It's very simple. In a carefully calculated campaign, the "New Left" is out to seize control of America's university system. And it intends to use student distress about the draft and worry about grades as instruments for gaining that control.

Who says? The "New Left" says. It has spelled it out for you.

On page 11 of the September 9 issue of *New Left Notes* the national vice president of Students for a Democratic Society, Carl Davidson, presented a blueprint for this seizure which was about as plain as Hitler's plans as outlined in *Mein Kampf*. Not enough people read Hitler's book in time. So perhaps our college administrators should now pay some attention to Mr. Davidson.

The purpose of the SDS, he says, is to "radically transform" the university community and "radically alter" the lives of the students. This is to be achieved by a "student syndicalist movement." He continues:

"What we don't want is a 'company union' student movement that sees itself as a body that helps a paternal administration make better rules for us. What we do want is a union of students where the students themselves decide what kind of rules they want or don't want. Or whether they need rules at all."

Davidson asserts that existing student governments may be broken up by "constantly harassing and disrupting the meetings like showing up en masse."

If the "left" ever succeeds in getting control of the student government it should, again quoting Davidson, "push through a list of demands in the form of a Bill of Rights, containing a time limit for the administration to reply." If the demands are met the students should celebrate "the victory of the revolution." If not, they should "immediately begin mass demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts of all classes, and strikes of teaching assistants."

Because, as Davidson states it, grades are "a direct cause of most student anxieties and frustrations" the SDS demands the end of grades. What Davidson doesn't say is that if grades are ended "students" who have no other purpose on the campus except organizing riots will remain in good standing indefinitely. Also, as he puts it, "Selective Service would have a hell of a time ranking us."

Does SDS have plans to control what is taught? You bet. Listen:

"The student syndicalist movement must incorporate in secondary issues the ideology of participatory democracy . . . . Approach students in teachers' colleges with a counter-curriculum based on the ideas of Paul Goodman and A. S. Neil for the radical education of children. . . . Organize students and liberated profs in certain departments to work out model counter-curricula and agitate for its adoption, mainly because students participated in shaping it rather than on its merits."

Mr. Davidson sums it up:

"Participatory democracy is often like a chronic and contagious disease. Once caught, it permeates one's whole life . . . . Within a manipulative, bureaucratic system its articulation and expression amount to sabotage. It is my hope that those exposed to it while building a movement for student syndicalism will never quite be the same, especially after they leave the university community."

So there you have it. A pipe dream? The irresponsible sounding off of power-hungry youth? Look south.

The Communist take-over of colleges and universities in many Latin American countries followed this plan exactly. Campuses were turned to chaos. Classes were disrupted. Student syndicates seized power. Conservative professors were driven away. Sincere students left in discouragement and the universities became not educational institutions but producers of cadres for revolution.

Can it happen here? Probably not. Even at Berkeley only a small minority joined the riots. But students do love to raise hell. And the prospects of no grades and beating the draft are juicy carrots.

Let no American college administration confuse agitation such as Mr. Davidson outlines with mere healthy student shenanigans. All college faculties, regents and trustees should read Mr. Davidson's piece. They should at least be curious to know the plans for turning Alma Mater into Mater Seditiosa.

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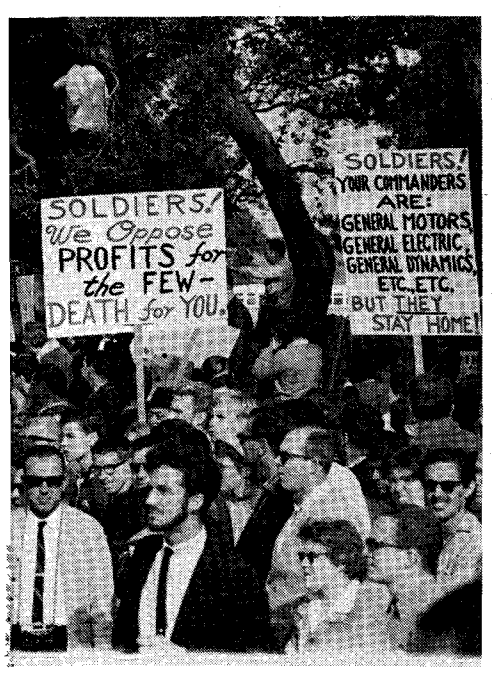

The "New Left" still plans demonstrations like this one that took place at Berkeley.

"MARXISM - LENINISM is a revolutionary and military theory, which has developed in step with the development of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. It has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice. Ours is an epoch in which capitalism and imperialism are heading for extinction while socialism and communism are advancing towards worldwide victory."—From the *Peking Review,* May 13, 1966

Governor Ronald Reagan addresses the California legislature after taking office January 2. With him, from left: Lt. Gov. Robert Finch, Mrs. Carlos Bee, wife of the speaker pro tem, and Controller Houston Flournoy.

Reagan Begins Administration With McClellan Appointment

Businessman has shown how job problems of Watts can be solved — privately

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

He's just an actor, said Gov. Pat Brown of his opponent, Ronald Reagan, during the autumn political campaign in California. Meaning, of course, that Ronald Reagan was long on talk and gesture, but woefully inexperienced when it came to making administrative decisions.

Well, Reagan knocked Brown's criticism into a cocked hat even before he had been sworn in as governor in Sacramento. The story hasn't had adequate coverage in certain Eastern newspapers which can be counted on to report anything and everything out of Lansing, Mich.; and if my Western spies hadn't been on the ball I wouldn't have known a thing about it. Certainly it's not just California news, for it shows how far ahead Ronald Reagan and his lieutenant governor, Robert Finch, are when it comes to planning ways and means of ending the "Watts problems" in the big urban conglomerations of the United States.

The news, specifically, is that Reagan has chosen H. C. (Chad) McClellan, who directed the voluntary organization that found jobs for some 13,000 Negroes from the 46-square-mile Watts "curfew area," to extend his operations to the state of California as a whole.

McClellan, a Los Angeles businessman, will work without salary with Lt. Gov. Finch and Spencer Williams, Reagan's Health and Welfare administrator, in a grand campaign aimed at matching available workers with jobs in all the "hot spots of trouble."

What should interest the citizens of Illinois, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and other states in the industrial Northeast that have "Watts problems" is that McClellan plans to carry out his program without asking for a cent of tax money from either California or Washington, D.C.

The local Los Angeles campaign, which has cut the Watts unemployment problem in half since the time of the riots, has cost $6,000 a month, but the money has been raised from private foundations and by contributions from many of the 2,600 industrial companies that volunteered to support the program.

Mr. McClellan's Los Angeles organization is called the Management Council for Merit Employment Training and Research. A statewide voluntary organization will be put to work by Mr. McClellan and Lt. Gov. Finch to canvass foundations and private citizens in hopes of raising a kitty several times larger than the one at the disposal of the Los Angeles area.

Bob Finch, who stressed the possible uses of "voluntarism" during his campaign for office, says of the new program that "we'll use existing facilities and it won't cost the taxpayer a single dollar."

McClellan already has four so-called "skill centers" in the Los Angeles area which provide short-time training for prospective factory employes. The centers will be expanded and extended to the San Diego and the San Francisco Bay regions.

Unemployment in California has been running slightly higher than in the rest of the nation. It stands at 4.5 per cent in the Bay area, 4.4 per cent in Los Angeles, and 4.3 in San Diego. But, as McClellan points out, the jobs are there provided that proper matching can be done. The post-Watts story proves it.

The significance of Reagan's first administrative act is that it shows him to be a progressive in the American grain. He is accepting urban problems for what they are, but unlike some other supposedly progressive governors and mayors, he is going all out to solve the problems without contributing to the inflation that is busting the U.S. dollar in half.

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SADDEST EPITAPH—"The saddest epitaph which can be carved in the memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while there was yet time to save it."—Justice George Sutherland

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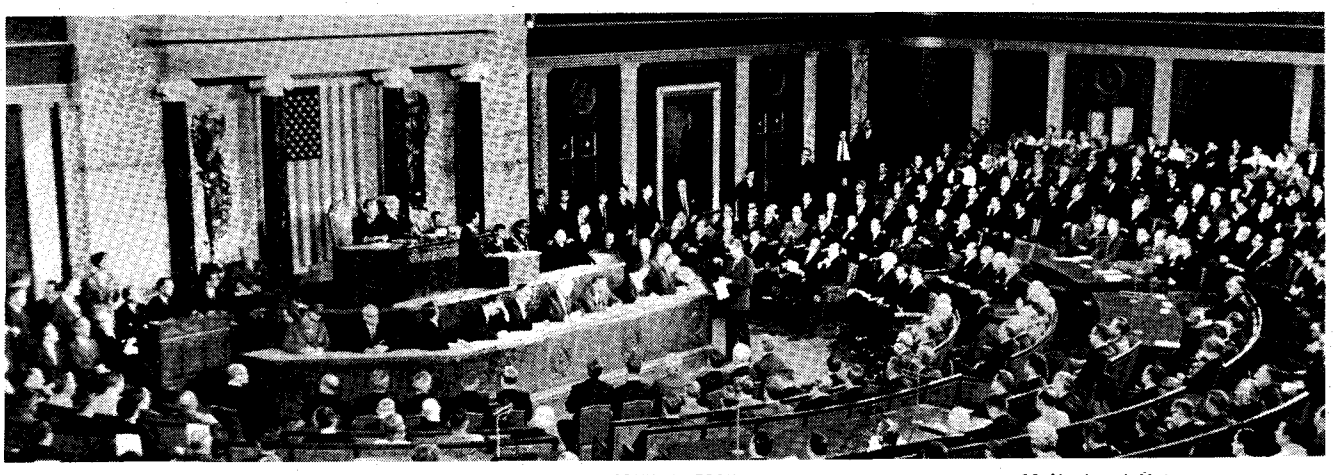
Roster of the 90th Congress

House of Representatives

The House of Representatives now has 248 Democrats and 187 Republicans. The Senate is 64-to-36 Democratic. House members are listed by district number; Republicans are in capital letters. In the Senate table, the senior senator appears first, while an asterisk (*) denotes a seat up for re-election in 1968.



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2 WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
3 George W. Andrews
4 William Nichols
5 Armistead I. Selden Jr.
6 JOHN H. BUCHANAN JR.
7 Tom Bevill
8 Robert E. Jones

Alaska
AL HOWARD W. POLLOCK

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2 Morris K. Udall
3 SAM STEIGER

Arkansas
1 E.C. Gathings
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT
4 David Pryor

California
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2 Harold T. Johnson
3 John E. Moss
4 Robert L. Leggett
5 Phillip Burton
6 WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
7 Jeffery Cohelan
8 George P. Miller
9 Don Edwards
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11 J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
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33 JERRY L. PETTIS
34 Richard T. Hanna
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38 John V. Tunney

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8 W.S. (Bill) Stuckey
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1 ARCH A. MOORE JR.
2 Harley O. Staggers
3 John M. Slack Jr.
4 Ken Hechler
5 James Kee

Wisconsin
1 HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
2 Robert W. Kastenmeier
3 VERNON W. THOMSON
4 Clement J. Zablocki
5 Henry S. Reuss
6 WILLIAM A. STEIGER
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8 JOHN W. BYRNES
9 GLENN R. DAVIS
10 ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

Wyoming
AL WILLIAM H. HARRISON

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How to Write More Effective Letters

To Your Congressman . . .

Many people think any letter to Washington is just a waste of time, but nothing could be further from the truth. Congressmen pay attention to their mail. They have to, because the writers' views form a major listening post for voter sentiment on pending legislation.

Who reads them? A surprising amount of the letters to congressional offices are read carefully by the congressmen themselves. Those that aren't are handled by key staff personnel who notify their bosses of the contents.

Form letters and petitions: Form letters with identical wording, long telegrams signed by lists of people, mimeographed petitions and other "bulk" entreaties carry little or no weight in Washington. The legislators know from experience that sudden outpourings, with suspicious similarity, are largely from disinterested persons who were goaded into signing a form letter or petition by some lobbyist or political action group.

Be yourself and write your own letter. It is the carefully thought-out, individual letter that a lawmaker appreciates. Write to your Senator or Representative just as you would write to anyone else. The influence of your communication depends upon the point you make and the clarity with which you make it. Set forth exactly why you consider a bill good or bad, how you feel that it would affect you and your community.

Courtesy always: Threats, warnings, and abuse merely antagonize Congressmen. Effective mail is courteous and the Congressman is well aware, without reminding him in a letter, that he may be your "second favorite" candidate in the next election if he lets you down. Nor does he need to be wooed with a promise of "all-out" support at the polls if he votes the "right way." If you or your organization can muster votes at election time, he knows that, too. If you are pleased with the Congressman's position on a bill or with his vote, write to thank and compliment him on his stand. This is important. Letters to a congressman for a job well done are altogether too rare.

Follow through: Almost all Congressmen answer their mail, but if your reply is just a brief acknowledgement, write again to ask for more specific information, e.g., precisely how he stands on the issue, how he feels toward its success, and if he proposes to support or oppose it. It is highly unlikely that he will ignore your second "follow-up" request, and he will appreciate your proven interest in the bill. In short, persistence pays.

Timing: Another important factor is when you send your letter. A deluge of mail just as a measure is about to be voted on is much less effective than a single intelligent letter months before while the legislator is still formulating his opinions. When the bill is introduced, send a copy of your letter (or a separate one) to the chairman of the committee to which it was referred. Sometimes a bill may never get out of committee for a floor vote. When possible, always refer to the bill under discussion by its name and number.

Address your letters:

Senators: The Honorable John S. Doe
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510 (Dear Senator Doe)

Representatives: The Honorable James K. Roe
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515 (Dear Mr. Roe)

To Your Editor . . .

When you write to a newspaper or other publication, KEEP IT. . . . .

Brief: Most letters should be no more than 200 or 300 words, as space is limited. You will be sharing the "Letters to the Editor" column with other correspondents on a variety of subjects. Most likely, your letter will be triggered by a recent news story or editorial, and it is not necessary to restate the entire premise before launching your views. Of course, limit the subject of your letter to just one topic, news story, or editorial; make your points quickly and cogently.

Pointed: If you don't have well-developed, firm opinions on an issue, don't bother to write. Both editors and their readers enjoy and react to a letter that has fact, feeling, and direction. Unless you have something positive to suggest or correct, something informative and useful for the readers, your letter will accomplish little. Be direct, to the point, and *above all, be sure of your facts.*

Timely: First impressions are the strongest, and so is the first impact of the news. Particularly, if the original news story is erroneous or misleading, corrections should be made immediately because readers are apt to "digest" fallacy if the facts come too late. How often have you heard, "Of course it's true, I read it in the paper just this morning"? Editors give priority to letters commenting on a story while it is still news; next week may be too late. Write your letter the same day you read or hear the editorial or news story.

Conciliatory: Even though a news story or editorial may malign one of your pet programs or seem unduly opinionated, do not respond with a sarcastic combative letter. Emotionally charged letters get high readership but at the expense of the writer's embarrassment when he sees his hot temper in cold print. If the editorial writer or reporter has been unreasonably critical, point out his errors as factually and politely as possible, correct or amend them, and extend the offer of your services or more information if desired. Above all, you can't intimidate an editor by threatening to cancel your subscription; torrid letters only help increase his circulation. On the other hand, don't feel that an untruth is too gross to be dignified by an answer; silence is sometimes the severest indictment, and an unchallanged fallacy always carries more weight with those who wish to believe it.

Identified: Always sign your letter with your full name and address; also your professional title if it is pertinent to the subject. Anonymous letters lack courage and conviction, and editors seldom print them. Letters with pseudonyms are usually discarded becauses editors check on the authenticity of both content and correspondent; however, your name may be withheld upon request if circumstances warrant, but these occasions are rare. Do not ask the editor to reply to your letter or to return your manuscript.

Address your letter:

Letters to the Editor
Name of Newspaper or Magazine
City State (Dear Sir:)
or
Mr. John S. Doe
Managing Editor
Name of Magazine
Address (Dear Mr. Doe:)

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New Year's Predictions from Two Columnists

Victor Riesel...

A columnist should have the strength of his predictions as well as his convictions.

But as a charter member of the International Crystal Ball Union, I must warn that our constitution states quite plainly that we are not responsible for fulfillment of any forecast. Protected by this inalienable right and encouraged by confirmation of 98 per cent of last year's predictions—including the Supreme Court's rejection of Jim Hoffa's plea and Congress' rejection of the 14b repealer—this columnist sees the following in 1967:

• Labor's big drive will be for the wiping out of payment by the hour or the piece. It will push—and strike, especially in the automobile industry—for payment by the week, payment by the year and payment for life regardless of the work available. Labor will demand a guaranteed minimum income whether or not the production lines are moving.

• There will be strange new demands —"Judicare," for example, which will operate in the courts like Medicare does in the hospitals. Unions will seek new contract clauses banning "electronic eavesdropping" or closed-circuit television observing in the plants.

• Labor will become the second biggest story on the home front, running only slightly behind war and peace. 1967 will be the toughest year on the strike and union fronts—with some two million unionists chanting for more cash. They've had the fringes—free medicine, pensions, psychiatry, podiatry, ophthalmology. They want cash—big chunks of it.

• There will be turbulence in the air when the teamsters and railroad people and communications workers, textile hands, rubber workers, newspaper employes, and at year's end—the New York City transit workers again—open their contract offensives.

But the toughest month of the year will be September. That's when Walter Reuther will begin real hardnose bargaining for some 650,000 auto workers in an industry where the profit gap is narrowing.

It will be the loneliest month of the year for Lyndon Johnson. For then there will be auto strikes—lots of them—affecting the nation, the military, prosperity and posterity. That month could be the making or unmaking of a President.

Will he clobber? If he does, will it help or hurt him? Will he aid Reuther or will he call him in for a showdown? Or will he demand new emergency strike laws?

If the war goes well, President Johnson will argue. If the war is hell, he'll clobber—even his old friend Walter Reuther. He'll use proposals brought in by the "task force"—the full team is named here for the first time: Under Secretary of State Nick Katzenbach, former Office of Price Administration counsel David Ginsburg, Harvard's Prof. John Dunlop, Stanford Prof. J. Keith Mann and UCLA Labor-Management Institute director Ben Aaron, Acting Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark (who will become attorney general) and "caretaker" Jim Reynolds.

But Congress will not pass a tough anti-strike statute. The President does not need any. He has all the power necessary.

Mr. Johnson will depend on what happens next September, October and November for new imagery and popularity. Prediction: He will be tough and handle labor more conservatively.

• There will be a reshifting of power balances in the AFL-CIO—with, oddly enough, the teamsters becoming the balance. Hoffa definitely will go to prison next spring. As he goes out of the teamsters, they will go back into the AFL-CIO, probably in time for the next national convention in Florida next December.

And they'll bring with them a 1.7-million dues per capita vote. They'll be eminently respectable. And they'll cooperate closely with George Meany. Thus Reuther will lose all power plays inside the AFL-CIO—but he'll stay inside. No bolt.

• There will be strong labor defections to Republicans on the state level—mostly to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who certainly will make one more bid for the presidency. Watch for a move by some labor forces to dump Vice President Hubert Humphrey and make Ambassador Arthur Goldberg the nominee as a compromise between Mr. Humphrey and Sen. Robert Kennedy.

• Next to George Meany the most influential man inside labor will be the labor leader's labor leader, Paul Hall, Seafarers' International president. If Meany resigns, which he won't, Hall will succeed him—with the Steelworkers I. W. "Abe" Abel being the runner-up.

• You can expect a big steel union drive for some 125,000 white collar workers to be launched next April. Pro-Communist unions will all but disappear as they merge with their more conservative brethren.

• On the legislative front, labor will push for a truth-in-lending bill, just as it did in the truth-in-packaging fight. It wants a probe of moneylending and phony installment selling. And it will get it.

• There will be riots in Santo Domingo. I learned when in Prague last September that the global Communist labor outfit, the World Federation of Trade Unions, headquartered there, is pouring money into the Dominican Republic.

• Amidst the flurry of rubber, rail, trucking, auto and other strikes, labor will push its "coalition bargaining" campaign on at least 20 fronts before the year's end. The technique of coordinated bargaining was first reported by this columnist. Prediction: In 1967, it will develop into a new type of unionism.

• Furthermore, 1967 will be the year of the professionals, the technicians, the teachers, the nurses, the doctors. And the year of organization of police unions —and more firemen strikes.

It will be an angry year filled with angry words and angry men and cliff hangers. These are the perils of prosperity—and war.

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WHAT IS IT? "It pays most of the taxes. It provides most of the jobs. It has done the most to raise wages. It has given us all our factories and shops. It has built our ships and railways. It develops inventors and builders. It originated the principles of efficiency. It has done most to lower costs and prices. It alone can raise our standard of living. Yet, some say it must be destroyed. What is it? Private enterprise."—From *Koppers News*

Edgar Ansel Mowrer...

Once more, according to established custom, I have dusted off my crystal ball for a look into the coming year. A year ago I made 20 predictions for 1966 of which 11 turned out to be correct, seven were flops and two did not but could still come true.

Now for that squint at 1967:

1. No peace in Viet Nam—neither victory nor shameful withdrawal.

2. More and more Republicans, and some Democrats, will demand a "get in or get out policy"—an end to the present undeclared half-war.

Mowrer predicts Mao Tse-tung will not escalate the Viet Nam war for fear of an attack by Nationalist China against the mainland.

3. The USSR, Red China and the other Communist countries will supply more arms and other essentials to North Viet Nam while continuing to accuse America of "aggression."

4. The war of words between the two Communist powers will continue with even greater virulence, but China will refrain from escalating the war in Viet Nam lest it provoke a liberation campaign by Chiang Kai-shek.

5. Moscow, taunted as an appeaser by Peking, will continue to encourage and at the same time snub Washington's appeal for more "togetherness."

6. Red China will seize Portuguese Macao.

7. The contest between Ho Chi Minh and Johnson for Thailand will become more intense on both sides.

8. Indonesia will put former Big Brother Sukarno on trial for treason.

9. France will lose the plebiscite in French Somaliland and war will ensue between Ethiopia and Somalia for posession of that torrid port.

10. Egypt and Syria will attempt the assassination of King Hussein of Jordan.

11. Rhodesia will successfully defy the U.N. boycott and threats and armed incursions from neighboring countries.

12. Guinea will repudiate Sekou Touré.

13. Britain will not enter the Common Market, but Denmark and Spain will. Israel will become an associate member.

14. De Gaulle's France will draw somewhat closer to the United States and to Germany while German resentment of America's "abandonment" will grow.

15. The USSR and the other Communist countries of East Europe will gull the United States into greater trade, credit and "cooperation." The Soviets will stall on the issue of banning anti-missile missiles.

16. American distrust of the United Nations will greatly increase.

17. Algeria will try to oust the King of Morocco by all methods short of open war.

18. Turkey will give an ultimatum to the Greek Cypriots. War may ensue.

19. There will be civil strife in Guatemala.

20. President Johnson will ask and get an increase in taxes to meet the rising expenses of war in Viet Nam, domestic reform and space exploration.

That is what the crystal ball indicates to me. Twelve months from now I shall again report the score.

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Bobby's New Corporation

Bobby Kennedy garnered headlines recently with the announcement that two corporations—one headed by business men, the other by "community leaders" —would work in tandem to revitalize the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto of Brooklyn.

The New York senator was the driving force behind the project, lining up the liberal fat cats who will help finance the militant community action program.

Kennedy said that a Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Services Corp would be formed with the assistance of Wall Street financier Douglas Dillon, J. M. Kaplan of the J. M. Kaplan Fund, William S. Paley of CBS and Thomas Watson Jr. of International Business Machines.

A second corporation—the Bedford-Stuyvesant Renewal and Rehabilitation Corp.—will be formed under the leadership of Judge Thomas R. Jones, local civil rights leader.

Congressional files disclose that Jones has a lengthy record of radical-left activity.

As late as 1962 he was listed in the referral directory of the National Lawyers Guild, termed by Congress the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist party." In 1948 Jones was a judicial candidate of the American Labor party, another cited operation. In that same election he was active in the presidential campaign of Henry Wallace's pro-Communist Progressive party.

Among the cited Communist fronts with which Jones has been affiliated are the Council for African Affairs, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, United American Spanish Aid Committee and the Civil Rights Congress.

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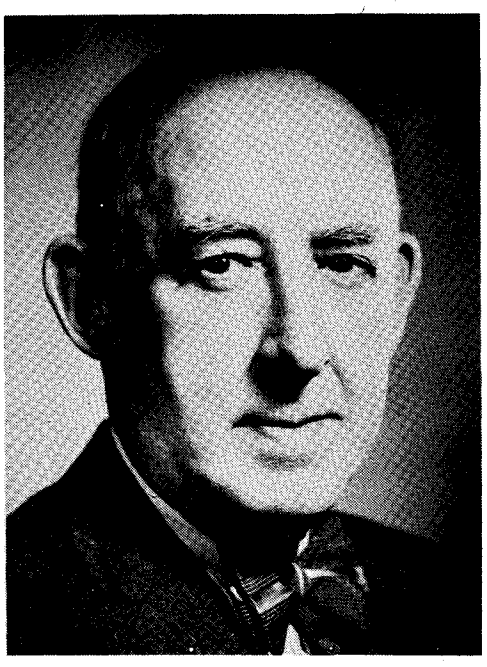
Kennedy-Manchester Book Battle Helped No One Except Johnson

By RAYMOND MOLEY

(We are glad to add to our list of columnists the distinguished name of Raymond Moley. A former law professor, Moley organized the famed "Brain Trust" for President Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and served as one of the top White House advisers until he broke with FDR over the rampant liberalism of the New Deal. He has written a weekly column for Newsweek *since 1937 and is the author of several best-selling books, including* After Seven Years, How to Keep Our Liberty *and, most recently,* The First New Deal. *A review of this latest volume appears in "Book Notes" on this page.)*

A recent newspaper headline said of Mrs. John F. Kennedy, "With Victory in Her Bag, Jackie Will Take a Trip." This prompts me to repeat an old gag about the man in the Louvre who was looking at the battered statue of the Winged Victory. He said, "If that is victory, I would like to see defeat."

Aside from the compassion one feels for Mrs. Kennedy, who has suffered deeply, a sober appraisal of her behavior in her relations with the author, William Manchester, and her lawsuit against the publication of his book is that Mrs. Kennedy lost her composure and precipitated exactly what she sought to prevent. All the other participants



Columnist Raymond Moley says Bobby Kennedy wants to rewrite history.

in the imbroglio lost stature, even respect, by their actions.

The "settlement" of the lawsuit about his book shows that Manchester made an agreement with Robert Kennedy so vague that its terms could never be adequately interpreted by a court. And Mrs. Kennedy's charges against him must permanently injure his reputation as a writer.

The publishers, by agreeing to the deletions, show that before suit was brought against them they were willing to publish material which was not relevant to the story they intended to print. Only the peril of great monetary loss forced them to agree to the deletions. And they will suffer the reproach that they have published not the whole story, but a doctored version of history.

Robert Kennedy by his participation in the affair revealed himself as a man who would—and did, as it has proved—rewrite history according to his own specifications, just as when he sat in a seat of power he had attempted to direct the flow of news. He stands revealed as a man who, though possessed of an overpowering ambition, fortunately lacks the judgment necessary to attain his ends.

For the agreement which seems at this writing to end the suit to prevent the publication of Manchester's story creates more interest in the 1,600 words omitted than in the many thousands that *Look* and Harper & Row will sell to the public. So many have seen the whole text and so many copies of the unexpurgated edition are in existence that ultimately everyone will know the whole story.

At this time in the proceedings there appears on the stage a character designated by Shakespeare as "Rumor, painted full of tongues." There appeared in the press all sorts of guesses about what was in the original version, and there will be versions of the story printed abroad that will have a profitable bootlegged sale.

The public curiosity about the Kennedy family still remains, three years after the tragedy. As Walter Bagehot wrote 90 years ago about British interest in the monarchy:

"A family on the throne is an interesting idea. . . . It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life. . . . It introduces irrelevant facts into the business of government. . . ."

But a family so exalted must not only do interesting things. It must keep the respect of the beholders. When it fails in that and makes mistakes, it can lose respect overnight. The spell is broken. And ribaldry follows reverence.

In the weeks while this controversy went on, public excitement ran high and each day added something to the alleged mystery. But, as always when the subject is based upon irrelevancies, the reaction will be quite sudden.

There will now follow what has been called "the terrible sanity" of an awakening. The public will awake with a hangover of resentment against all concerned. Common sense will suggest that the great fuss was a mixture of emotion, misunderstanding and speculation. And the publications that follow may be looking for purchasers.

LBJ, the bystander, will be the only one to escape unscathed.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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U DROP-OUT—"One of India's institutions of higher learning, 110-year-old Calcutta University, was closed on December 8. The cause wasn't lack of money, or lack of students, or lack of alumni support. It folded because student picketing had reached the point where it 'paralyzed activities.' According to the *Times* of India, there was 'no prospect that conditions would improve.' American universities take note."—From the Arizona *Republic*

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BOOK NOTES

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THE EDITORS

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THE POLITICS OF SURRENDER by M. Stanton Evans (Devin Adair, 568 pages, $6.95).

Mr. Evans' study begins with these lines: "The first purpose of a nation's foreign policy is to protect the lives and vital interests of its citizens from the hostile initiatives of alien powers." "Ah," one is tempted to muse, "if only the liberal formulator of American foreign policy would read and digest those words, American hegemony in world affairs might be regained." Respect for the United States might even supplant scorn, ridicule and contempt around the globe.

American foreign policy during the post-war decades has been the story of the contraction of the free world and the reordering of the world power equilibrium at the expense of the West. And it is the American liberal who has been central to this collapse of U.S. power. It is he who for 20 years has occupied the seats of supreme political power, fortified by resources that could guarantee freedom to all men—everywhere. But instead he substituted his hollow shibboleths when action was needed and sat paralyzed by his own misconceptions as free men were enslaved by the millions.

As Mr. Evans puts it, "The radical disjunction between the Liberal ideology and the shape of the world we live in is the most serious problem confronting the United States today. Because of it, American foreign policy has failed to serve as a shield for our protection. We have been surrendering the globe to an enemy whose true character liberalism fails to acknowledge."

How will History explain that the West, holding royal flushes, lost the kitty time after time? The answer must be that early in the game the Soviet Union, with its superior appreciation of the realities of political power, discovered that in the hands of the West power meant very little because the will to use it on behalf of national self-interest was missing. Witness China, Eastern Europe, Cuba and Katanga. That is why a band of half-starved peasants today stalemates the United States in the jungles of Viet Nam, just as a few years before it did in Korea.

This book, then, is an unhappy recital of the way the mythologies and superstitions of the American Left have sapped our will-to-power and nearly neutralized our will-to-survive. For the general reader it is without equal as a compact, easy to understand survey. For the serious student and scholar, it is the most comprehensive prognosis available of the liberal infection of American foreign policy. Together with Mr. Evans' earlier classic, **The Liberal Establishment**, the reader now has in only two volumes an almost complete history of the devastation that liberals have visited upon both the foreign and domestic policies of our country. In a word, they are indispensable.

These two books ratify Mr. Evans' standing as one of the most articulate and thoughtful scholars of the conservative movement.

THE FIRST NEW DEAL by Raymond Moley (Harcourt, Brace and World, 577 pages, $12.50).

The title of this book is significant, since it suggests the author's view that the New Deal was an abandonment of Jeffersonian principles, an abandonment staged in two acts. The first of these lasted from FDR's nomination and election in 1932 until just before his re-election in 1936. Moley, who was Roosevelt's chief "braintruster" during this initial period, broke with FDR over what he believed was a dramatic shift in direction.

In Moley's view, this shift was impelled by the rapidly increasing population migration into urban areas which caused Roosevelt to discard as inexpedient the agrarian orientation which characterized his 1932 campaign and to turn to a program of social and economic reforms calculated to appeal to racial, religious and labor minorities in the cities. Thus, "the man who was born to the heritage of a country squire and who had dedicated nearly a quarter of a century to the cause of agriculture became within the space of a few years a leader and idol of the urban masses. . . . Intellectuals were won by Roosevelt's habit of 'bold experimentation' and by his conversion to internationalism after 1937. The capacity he showed for adopting the ideas of a new and radical science of economics for the purpose of rationalizing his political policies won him great support in academic circles. And his amazing capacity to dramatize his policies and himself excited a public unable to discriminate between his projects and blinded by the excitement of a masterful show."

Moley, today a contributing editor to **Newsweek** magazine and a syndicated columnist whose articles now appear in **Human Events**, has written what **Saturday Review** calls "a magnificent, incisive, inside report of the political and economic events of 1933." And Thomas Lask, reviewing the book for the New York **Times**, writes that the average reader "will find in these pages a close and clear view of what it is makes the wheels of government go round."

NEGROES AND THE NEW SOUTHERN POLICIES by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro (Harcourt, Brace and World, 551 pages, $12.50).

A massive and detailed analysis of the impact which increasing Negro voter participation will likely have upon politics in the South. Both authors are professors of political science at the University of North Carolina. Their book is based upon a six-year study which engaged hundreds of participating researchers and thousands of interviews with voters in the 11 states of the Confederacy.

A CRITICAL LOOK AT FOREIGN AID by Chesly Manly (Chicago **Tribune**, Public Service Office, 33 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., 19 pages, 20¢. Order directly from the publisher.).

A series of four penetrating articles by the Chicago **Tribune**'s staff writer has been reprinted in pamphlet form, suitable for wide distribution. But beware: You are sure to make your friends very, very annoyed by bringing to their attention a program that has consumed some $102 billion of their tax money in the last 20 years. Mr. Manly looks at what we have got for this amount and finds it's been much too little. He discusses the weaknesses of our foreign aid policy and comes up with some fresh and interesting views on the subject.

A DECADE OF COMMENT ON EDUCATION: 1956-1966, edited by Mortimer Smith (Council for Basic Education, 725 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, 156 pages, $1.50). Order directly from publisher.

This collection of excerpts from the **Bulletin** of the Council for Basic Education presents a running commentary on what has been going on in education during the last 10 years. It chronologically covers topics ranging from the New Math, Education of Teachers, and Personality Testing to the White House Conference on Education and National Standards of Education. The Council **Bulletin** has achieved an interesting style of writing not usually found in material dealing with the subject of education.

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Inside Story of New Reuther Strategy

By VICTOR RIESEL

Insiders now are certain Walter Reuther, the oldest youth in the labor movement, now is in deep trouble on his home grounds. There is sharp disaffection inside his union. There have been serious financial difficulties, what with the liquidation of four banks in which the United Auto Workers (UAW) either owned thousands of shares or had millions of dollars on deposit.

Even worse for the copper-haired militant is a wave of mockery never before encountered by the commandant of the original auto plant sit-ins 30 years ago. Tens of thousands of reprints of a satiric piece—titled "Reuther Backs Down: The Case of the Timid Cowboy"—are being distributed across the land by skilled auto workers now opposed to the UAW president.

"This could be called the saga of Walter the Kid, whose lip is greater than his dexterity on the draw, vs. George Meany, alias Mean Meany . . . still the fastest draw in the labor movement," says the needling piece.

"The Kid, being fast in the mouth and slow with the action, allowed as how the time had come for a showdown, letting his verbosity run away with his sense. He challenged Meany to a shoot-out at the corral."

It then describes Reuther's rout and advises finally, "Don't lip off unless you have something to lip off about," after using phrases like Reuther "chickened out" while "Meany stood in the center of the street at high noon and waited. . . ."

This mockery, when added to the fact that some 750,000 UAW members were born about the time Reuther's reputation was burgeoning and hardly know the man who will be 60 years old when he leads them into battle against the auto companies, could well be damaging to his bargaining power next September.

Thus, there is little doubt among the handful of national labor leaders who have access to Reuther's own inner circle that the Detroiter's year-end "White Paper," the searing of the AFL-CIO, was not aimed at its president, George Meany, but at the automobile manufacturing industry.

Several sources close to Reuther, far closer to him than most would believe, confirmed this to this columnist.

As his own colleagues see his open letter, it is part of a new long series of public thrusts to stay on the front pages between now and next summer to remake his image.

It is one of a series of imagery moves to remake the Dorian Gray picture of "Walter" as the militant he "really is." It is an effort in a continuing process to have him appear to be the symbol of challenge to the status quo, the firebrand for America's youth, the tough bargainer, the crusader slashing at the elder statesmen now leading the AFL-CIO.

It is aimed at having platoons of newsmen from the printed media and the electronic field trot behind him and crowd his press conferences wherever he goes.

All this is apparent from his "White Paper." It was carefully planned as a "shocker." On the Thursday before the New Year's weekend, newsmen on all coasts and in several big cities were alerted. Special agencies in the Midwest and Washington were retained for the distribution of the letter.

Then the UAW headquarters, Solidarity House, was shut for four days. Silence.

An analysis of the "White Paper" reveals that Reuther truly was whirling up a confetti storm.

Officials in the AFL-CIO national headquarters anonymously made some fascinating points which will haunt Reuther.

The Detroiter has only himself to blame if there has been no drive to unionize the non-union working people. Reuther for 11 years now has been permanent chairman of the AFL-CIO national Organization Committee—a standing committee he could call into action anytime he wanted.

He hasn't.

Reuther could easily have rectified any domestic policy of the merged federation anytime he wanted. For 11 years he has been permanent chairman of the AFL-CIO national Economic Policy Committee, also a standing committee.

As for the AFL-CIO Executive Committee, he has been on it for 11 years and has said nothing about its activity. As for foreign affairs, except on one occasion, he has voted scores of times—every time—for the official AFL-CIO policy. This has been the case for 11 years.

Rarely, if ever, has he raised any of the issues in the Executive Council sessions which he has raised in his letter. In fact, he has been quite friendly to George Meany.

For example, as recently as December 15, he joined Meany at a private lunch for former Sen. Paul Douglas in a local hotel. Reuther greeted Meany warmly and then both men sat at the sides of Mr. Douglas, as snug as bugs in a rug, as Benjamin Franklin would say.

Furthermore, says one of the top AFL-CIO men, there has been organization. The federation is the only labor movement in the free world to gain members (in industrial lands). The movements in England, France, Sweden, Italy, etc., lost ground.

So they view Reuther's blasts really as the opening of his campaign to gain strength among his own people in preparation for the bargaining with—and strike against—the auto industry.

For the moment he is in difficulty, and with paternal kindness the elder statesmen, like good football pros, don't plan to rough him up. They understand.

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A Department of Consumers?

By HENRY HAZLITT

Do we need a Department of Consumers? Whether we do or not, we are going to get one if we don't watch out. And under the guise of "protecting consumers," its main activity will be to control, hobble and harass producers.

All of this is implicit, and some of it explicit, in a report of the Consumer Advisory Council to the President. Mr. Johnson appointed the council in 1965; the report was submitted last June 12; but for some reason he waited six months before making it public.

The broad conclusion of the council is that consumers, through "confusion and ignorance, some deception and even fraud," often fail to get their money's worth in the market place.

This is no doubt true enough as a broad generality, and has been since the beginning of time. But these are the real questions. How widespread is the deception or fraud? Aren't there already enough laws on the books, state and federal, not to speak of the common law, to protect buyers against deception and fraud? Do we need special, detailed federal regulation of every industry?

And is this legislation, if passed, likely to be enforced against the little fly-by-night concerns that are most likely to practice deception or fraud, or directed against the big nationwide corporations that are least likely to practice deception and fraud because they can least afford to endanger their reputations? Well, the bureaucrats know that they cannot make the headlines unless they go after the big fish. And so the preceding question answers itself.

In some respects the newly released report has already been outdated by events. It recommended an automobile safety law, and now we have one. It recommended a food labeling and packaging law, and now we have one. The designs of future cars will not be specified by engineers, but by lawyers and congressmen who will also take increasing control over labeling.

The council's report, however, also calls for "truth-in-lending" legislation "to correct the nation's credit ills." It wants standards and quality grades on many types of goods, such as A, B and C grades of foods. Of course, government bureaucrats are to decide which are A, B and C grades. The decision is not to be left to the consumers or the competition of the market place.

Clothing labels are also to be controlled. The council wants permanently attached labels on how to care for textiles that need special care. This might be a little awkward for the wearers, but no matter.

The home maintenance and repair industry is to be strictly controlled because "the industry has not shown that it can regulate itself." And so on.

Finally, the 12-member council voted 9 to 3 to create a Department of Consumers "to protect the public interest." Of course, this department would grow and grow year by year like all the other departments, adding more and more permanent bureaucrats and demanding more and more controls over more and more industries.

It is all being advocated in the name of progress, but it begins to take on the odor of medieval statism. Someone should have called the attention of the council to the law of Henry VII, which directed people at what fairs they should sell their goods; and that of James I, which made it a penal offense to sell any pins, but such as are "double-headed, and their head soldered fast to the shank, and well smoothed; and the shank well shaven; and the point well and round-filed and sharpened."

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Chicago's Daley an Example

How Big-City Political Machines Get That Way

By WILLIAM H. RENTSCHLER

The pattern varies scarcely a hair. For the old pro is not one to tamper with a winning formula.

When Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley makes ready to launch yet another re-election bid, the technique he employs is combat-tested, and, up to now, invaryingly successful. It is a ritual calculated to intimidate any but the most intrepid challenger.

A first step is the ceremonial unveiling of a panoramic, awe-inspiring "Blueprint for a Greater Chicago." Grandiose in scale, Utopian in concept, universal in appeal, it envisions a latter-day Camelot where there will be no slums, no strife, no crime, no grime, no rain, no pain, no want.

There is a second key element in the mayor's battle strategy. At a propitious moment, when the trusting townspeople are wondering if the mayor will deign to run at all, the trumpets blare and a leading local dignitary announces a grandly titled committee of solid gold citizens whose sole and selfless objective is to "urge" the mayor to offer himself again and to pledge their undying support if he does.

With the election little more than 100 days ahead, these proven preliminaries have been duly disposed of. Yea, verily, His Honor will run again.

First came the unfolding of that lofty 'blueprint," largely a rehash of blueprints gone before, but which nonetheless commanded banner headlines and breathless eulogies via air waves and editorial columns.

Then a "blue ribbon" committee representing the cream of Chicago commerce was hastily slapped together by noted advertising executive Fairfax Cone and lined up behind the mayor. It is safe to presume that "Fax" Cone wrapped up the whole project by buttonholing a clutch of cronies at the Chicago Club and enlisting the balance with a few dozen phone calls.

The roster includes hard-line Democrats, Daley intimates, businessmen who thrive on close ties with City Hall, and, for window-dressing, a few, but very few, Republicans and semi-Republicans.

It is the anatomy of this 46-man Citizens for Progress Committee which is so intriguing, and which, upon dissection, yields fascinating insight into the control of a community by its influential "Establishment."

Cone, a long-time Daley fancier, styles himself a Republican and crows that his committee represents all shades of opinion and is not "politically motivated."

This is palpable nonsense. There is no more political animal this side of the Equator than Daley. To support him is to take a strictly, baldly partisan political stance, for Daley's post as mayor gives him the muscle to rule Illinois' Democratic machine, to determine his party's candidates from alderman to governor, and to exile to "Siberia" politicos who incur his displeasure.

Close scrutiny reveals that the makeup of the committee, in a titular sense, is impressive—but that its membership is almost totally predictable and devoid of surprises.

Scanning the list, there are, of course, the readily identifiable, big-name Democrats, whose failure to support Daley would surely be newsworthy. Among these are Ben Heineman of the Northwestern Railroad; C. Virgil Martin of Carson Pirie Scott; the Continental Bank's David Kennedy; Admiral's Ross Siragusa; and the First National Bank's John Gleason, who headed the Douglas-for-Senator committee.

Joseph Meegan, executive secretary of the Back-of-the-Yards Neighborhood Council.

Then there are the scant few Republicans who, often under at least implied pressure, have lent their good names

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, left, receives congratulations from Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D.-Ill.) after the mayor decided to run for re-election.

There is a second group with intimate links to Daley in a personal, political and/or civic sense. These include Clair Roddewig, former president of the Chicago Board of Education; Chicago's *American* publisher Stuart List; James C. Downs Jr., real estate researcher and urban planner; retired Prudential Insurance executive James Reutherford, whom Daley appointed to the Chicago Transit Authority Board; James O'Keefe, Cook County public administrator; and to the Daley boosters club. One of these is Cone himself. Another is William A. (Pat) Patterson, retired chairman of United Airlines, whose bond with Daley has become so close that he no longer contributes financially to the Republican coffers. Still others are Leonard Spacek of the big Arthur Anderson accounting firm; Gardner Stern, head of a supermarket chain and downtown retail store; and Wayne A. Johnston of the Illinois Central Railroad and former GOP trustee of the University of Illinois.

What they do mainly by straying from the fold is make it nearly impossible for the GOP to produce the best possible candidate in the face of such highly publicized, precampaign defections.

Chesty, bellicose GOP mayoralty candidate John Waner acidly refers to the "phony draft" of the "reluctant" Daley by "the barons of State Street and the bankers of LaSalle Street, men who dare not incur the wrath of City Hall."

Despite his free-swinging approach, Waner may not be far off target.

It is hardly coincidence that the committee's membership is dominated by men whose companies "need" a good working relationship and reasonably close rapport with City Hall. As much as they may admire Daley, their support also is coldly practical.

Almost two-thirds of the committee members are drawn from five major categories of commerce which stand to benefit from their support of the likely mayoral victory.

□ □ □

$8.59 AN HOUR?—"The Manhattan and Bronx plumbers' strike—a jurisdictional strike—is 150 days old, and is holding up more of school, apartment, hospital and other construction in the two boroughs. A week before Christmas a board of inquiry headed by mediator Theodore W. Kheel offered the plumbers a settlement plan to adjust unemployment problems and hike pay per hour to $8.59. The union rejected the settlement plan. From which we see what is meant by those who complain that labor unions here are now so strong that they can choke New York City to economic, business and industrial death, and may do so someday if not restrained."—From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

Prophet Before His Time

Barry's Seven Lean Years Near End

By PAUL HARVEY

There is a seven-year cycle in the affairs of men as irreversible as the tides. For Barry Goldwater, the tide should start coming in again in 1968.

During the past five years (going on seven), he gave up his seat in the Senate to lose an election for the presidency and, what is probably more painful to a politician, lost the support of many of his supporters.

Thereafter, his chronic backache became acute, his tee shot hit a spectator in the head, his wife underwent tumor surgery—and somebody stole his sports car.

Doggedly, the ex-senator continued to push one foot after another up this mountain of adversity, confident that somewhere up there the downside would begin. Not yet.

In Chicago, his brother-in-law died. In Phoenix, his family department store was picketed. On Aug. 24, 1966, his aging mother fell and broke her hip. On December 27, at 91, she died.

That was the day after his $10,000 short-wave radio-equipped sports car was destroyed by fire.

History may record January 1967 as the turning point when Capricorn, Goldwater's star, resumed the ascendancy. Following a rhubarb over Gov. Romney's 12-page explanation of why he went AWOL during the political war of '64, public sympathy began to shift toward the vanquished warrior.

As we have seen in the chronology of every important political comeback, sympathy comes first—then appreciation—then prominence again.

Therefore, assuming Goldwater's continuing good health, here's how his future appears, starting in 1968:

A Republican political convention of many favorite sons will be heralded by petulant pundits as a head-on clash between Rockefeller-Romney liberals and "those responsible for the disaster of '64."

Then, when the politicos who took a powder in '64 discover the "disaster of '64" slogan is a boomerang, they will sue for coexistence with a Nixon. In the ensuing election, Goldwater will campaign mostly in his home state, some in Dixie, and will be elected to the Senate from Arizona.

Returning to the United States Senate, still a youthful 59, the freshman senator will be seated on the Armed Forces Committee, subsequently on the Joint Space Committee.

Sen. Goldwater's personal vendetta with the men who he feels deserted under fire in 1964 will ameliorate very gradually.

Not until the election year, 1970, will the name Goldwater become so identified with the pertinent present that he and we will forget the impertinence of the past.

In 1970, events will tend to lend stature to the senator.

TV interviewers will then more often begin by quoting prophetic "I told you so's" from the senator's past.

The mellowed senator will by then have learned beneficently to divert the discussion to the present and future.

In essence, the 1964 caricature of Goldwater as an arch-conservative politician will have yielded to a mellowed portrait of a responsibly conservative statesman.

I see no higher political or appointive office for Goldwater than senator from Arizona, but then the accuracy of my crystal ball is guaranteed for only seven years.

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A RUSSIAN WRITER incurred the wrath of the Politburo, was arrested and, for some hours, was roundly denounced for his sins with the usual intense verbal abuse, his indignation mounting to such a pitch that he could hardly contain himself. When, finally, he was released, he walked away from the courthouse until he believed he was out of earshot and then blew up, shouting: "Khrushchev is an idiot! Khrushchev is an idiot!" Unfortunately, he was overheard, rearrested, retried and sentenced to 25 years of slave labor in Siberia—one year for insulting a Soviet official, and 24 years for revealing a state secret.

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'Building Bridges' to the East

Tass Newsman Is Guest at LBJ Ranch

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is trying his own hand at building those bridges to Communist countries that he has been advocating.

Brushing aside the objections of his security guards, the President personally gave red-carpet treatment to Vitaly Petroussenko, a Tass News Agency correspondent, on a tour of the LBJ Ranch, followed by a leisurely lunch at the ranch house.

Petroussenko is the first Soviet newsman to cover the President on his home base. On this assignment the Russian spent 10 days in Texas.

In this personally conducted tour of the ranch, Petroussenko accompanied the President in his car, which he drove himself. The Secret Servicemen followed in another car.

At one point, during a stop to look over some of the President's grazing cattle, he noticed that Petroussenko's clothing was covered with dust and sand. Jokingly, the President brushed it off, saying, "I'll bet your government never furnished you this kind of valet service."

With a grin the Russian reporter replied, "I do all right."

In the Washington press corps, Petroussenko is reputed to have one of the biggest expense accounts among foreign correspondents. He dresses in expensive tailored clothes and is a regular patron of the most expensive dining places in the capital.

The extraordinary hospitality extended to Petroussenko has given rise to much conjecture as to its real purpose—whether the President was merely going out of his way to be friendly, which seems improbable, or actually was using the occasion to convey a personal message to the Kremlin leaders.

Neither the President nor the Tass correspondent has given the slightest hint of what took place when they were by themselves and out of earshot of the accompanying Secret Servicemen.

Also, as of this writing, nothing has been published by Tass or any Soviet paper of Petroussenko's talk with the President.

However, of possible significance is the fact that immediately after Petroussenko's unique visit with the President, the Russian sought and obtained permission to fly to Mexico. Such authorization is necessary in order to return to the United States.

Immigration sources say the State Department approved Petroussenko's trip following a telephone call from the White House.

It is well known to U.S. intelligence that the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City has a high-powered radio transmitter that is used to communicate directly with Moscow.

During the Kennedy Administration, several Russian newsmen had interviews with the late President. One of them was Alexei Adzhubei, son-in-law of former Premier Khrushchev. Then editor of *Izvestia*, Adzhubei spent the 1961 Christmas holidays in Hyannis Port talking to President Kennedy.

During the Cuban missile crisis Soviet correspondents in Washington were used by the Kennedy Administration to transmit messages to Khrushchev.

Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen is forecasting defeat for one of President Johnson's most important East-West "bridge building" proposals.

In phone conversations with other GOP leaders from his Florida vacation retreat, Dirksen is saying there now are enough votes in the Senate to block ratification of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty.

This long-stalled agreement, signed early in 1966, will be resubmitted to the Senate later this month. It was shelved last year after FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover voiced strong disapproval of the pact, and private polls showed it had less than a 50-50 chance to obtain the required two-thirds vote of the entire Senate.

Dirksen claims his latest survey revealed that "30 Republicans and 12 Democrats are definitely opposed to this treaty."

With 67 senators out of 100 needed for ratification, Dirksen points out the opposition already has nine more votes than the minimum required to block approval.

The veteran GOP leader also is indicating that other Administration proposals to relax East-West trade barriers are in serious trouble.

"There is strong opposition among Republican senators to the President's proposals to increase trade with the Soviet bloc," Dirksen told one GOP leader. "I doubt they can be passed. Several members are urging me to make a 'trading with the enemy' issue out of the President's proposals."

The jailing of Buel Wortham, former Army lieutenant from Little Rock, Ark., for changing a small sum of money on the black market and taking a statue of a bear from a Leningrad hotel, isn't helping the Administration in its efforts to improve East-West trade.

Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, which will consider the Administration's proposals, has served notice that he will resist even holding hearings as long as Wortham is in prison. He received a three-year sentence, which has been appealed.

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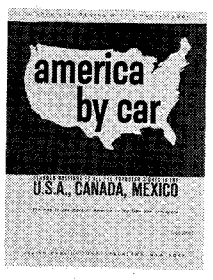

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Fabulous places like that undiscovered region where winters are as warm and sunny as Miami Beach's yet costs can be two-thirds less. Or that island that looks like Hawaii yet is 2,000 miles nearer (no expensive sea or air trip to get there). Or those many other low-cost exquisitely beautiful spots all over the United States and Canada which visitors in-a-hurry overlook (so costs are low and stay low).

Every page of OFF-THE-BEATEN-PATH opens a different kind of vacationing or retirement paradise which you can afford—places as glamorous as far-off countries yet every one of them located right near at hand. Like these:

- France's only remaining outpost in this part of the world—completely surrounded by Canadian territory . . . or a village more Scottish than Scotland . . . or age-old Spanish hamlets right in our own U.S. where no one ever heard of nervous tension or the worries of modern day life.
- Resort villages where visitors come by the score, so you always meet new people . . . *(but they never come by the thousands to raise prices or crowd you out).*
- That remarkable town where a fee of 3¢ a day gives you an almost endless round of barbecues, musicals, concerts, picnics, pot luck suppers, smorgasbord dinners and a fine arts program. That southern island first discovered by millionaires who had all the world to roam in . . . and now their hideaways are open to anyone who knows where to find them.

You read of island paradises aplenty in the United States and Canada, of art colonies (artists search for picturesque locations where costs are low!), of areas with almost a perfect climate or with flowers on every side. Here are the real U.S.A.-brand Shangri-Las made for the man or woman who's had enough of crowds. Here, too, are unspoiled seashore villages, tropics-like islands, and dozens of other spots just about perfect for your retirement or vacation at some of the lowest prices you've heard of since the gone-forever prewar days. **They're all in the United States and Canada, and for good measure you also read about the low-cost paradises in Hawaii, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.**

Off-the-Beaten-Path is a big book filled with facts that open the way to freedom from tension and a vacation or retirement you can really afford. About 100,000 words and plenty of pictures. Yet it costs only $2.

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